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The Byzantine Portrait

Personhood and Representation

Teaching Greek, Studying Philosophy, and Discovering Ancient Greek Knowledge at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth Century

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In memory of Michael D. Bonner (1952–2019)

At the turn of the sixteenth century, the librarian of the Imperial Palace (Topkapı Palace) in Ottoman Constantinople, Hayrüddin Hızır Atufi (d. 1541), meticulously undertook the task of classifying the library's collection and preparing an inventory, which would list nearly seven thousand titles. He completed this monumental task commissioned by Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) in the year 908 AH (1502 or 1503 CE). His diligent cataloguing included providing titles and inscribing them inside the covers, describing the content, and categorizing all of the books in the "Islamic languages," referring to the books in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish.[1] If there was another inventory for the books in other languages, it did not survive the ravages of time. Nevertheless, the Ottoman imperial library's collection of grammar books and dictionaries of these "non-Islamic" languages listed in Atufi's inventory is rich, constituting one of the many witnesses to the Ottoman interest in such languages. One of the titles recorded by Atufi in the section on dictionaries can be rendered as *Book of Appendices of the* Dānistan *on the Languages of Greek and Serbian, and Epistle on the Story of Croesus in the Arabic Script and*

Other Scripts, and Folios with Various Scripts, in a Single Volume.[2] This volume is an elementary-level language handbook that is still in manuscript and has largely eluded the attention of the historians of the Ottoman and Byzantine empires.

The volume was produced along with a number of similar primers in order to teach Greek and other languages. Of all the languages of these instructional manuals, including Serbian, Latin, and Armenian, Greek occupies the most esteemed position. This article seeks to rectify the modern-day scholarly oversight by initiating an exploration of this uncharted territory, starting with this enigmatic volume and its obscure sibling manuscripts.

The principal contention of this article is that the Greek language-learning project at the Ottoman court, while serving the dual purposes of diplomacy and the chancellery, aspired to a more profound goal—to provide students at the Ottoman court with access to classical knowledge, particularly in the realms of philosophy and science. As discussed below, even in the elementary Greek-language material, after the basics of conjugation, the students are given texts of philosophers' theories or the story of Solon of Athens (d. 560 BCE), supplementary material on how to spell

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1   Even today, the Topkapı Palace Museum Library books in Greek, Latin, Italian, and the like are catalogued under "non-Islamic" (*gayrı islami*, or G.I.). This inventory by Atufi has been recently published by an international group of experts, along with magisterial studies devoted to each branch of knowledge determined by Atufi, and with lists of identifiable surviving manuscripts; see G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar, and C. H. Fleischer, *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2019).

2   *Kitāb mulḥaqāt Dānistan min al-lugha al-rūmiyya wa al-ṣarfiyya wa risālat ḥikāyat Qirīsūs bi-khaṭṭ ʿarabi wa ghayrih wa awrāq fīhā khuṭūṭ mukhtalifa fī mujallad wāḥid.* See Necipoğlu, Kafadar, and Fleischer, *Treasures of Knowledge*, 2:195.

the names of ancient Greek philosophers correctly, or an introduction to the terminology of Aristotle's categories. In light of this and diverging from previous studies on the Ottoman patronage of this era, this article argues that the discovery (and rediscovery) of ancient Greek knowledge and its translation were a significant event and one of the motivations for scholarly work in the Greek language.

While prior studies have occasionally touched upon these primers, they have frequently neglected the historical milieu in which they originated and the diverse actors involved in their preparation. This article shall place these primers in the broader context of Ottoman patronage and the court's interest in Greek language and literature, particularly during the reign of Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481). This interest stemmed in part from the universalist propaganda of the Ottoman court and its attempts to portray the sultan as a philosopher-king. The Ottoman court amassed a considerable collection of Greek manuscripts and even commissioned new copies of select works in the original Greek. A good number of such Greek books produced in the court scriptorium and purchased by the court comprised Greek grammars and lexicons.

Scholars of Ottoman studies have historically been reluctant to acknowledge a nonutilitarian Ottoman interest in classical literature and Greek writings. Likewise, Byzantinists have rarely delved into the Ottoman court's appreciation of Greek learning. Even the Byzantine scholars who enjoyed Ottoman patronage have remained obscure, their roles in shaping Ottoman courtly culture largely unexamined. This article endeavors to bring to light the pivotal roles played by Byzantine scholars at the Ottoman court as conduits of Greek learning.

At the center of the teaching and translation activity at the Ottoman court was George Amiroutzes (d. ca. 1480). He was one of the era's most celebrated Greek intellectuals, surrounded by a circle of Byzantine thinkers who found favor under Ottoman patronage after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Not only did Amiroutzes teach the foundations of ancient Greek philosophy, he also oversaw the creation of instructional materials about the philosophers and the expansion of the court's collection of Greek manuscripts. Alongside language primers, Greek and Arabic instructional treatises were composed to facilitate philosophical education at the court. This Greek-language education also

played a pivotal role in an often overlooked translation project sponsored by Mehmed II, in which Amiroutzes, his family and associates, and an extended network of late Byzantine scholars actively participated.

This article will explore how the Ottoman court's engagement with ancient Greek literature was informed by contemporaneous Italian and Byzantine models reminiscent of the "Renaissance" discourse. The Ottomans actively engaged in a discourse akin to antiquarianism—exploring, cherishing, inventing, and reproducing the traces of Greek classical thought in a mostly cosmetic manner. In essence, this article embarks on a voyage through the folios of a previously overlooked manuscript and its related counterparts, shedding light on uncharted avenues within the Ottoman court. It illuminates the interwoven destinies of the Ottoman and Byzantine intellectual realms, united by the common terrain of Greek learning.[3]

Greek-Language Handbooks: An Unknown Manuscript?

I begin with the codex mentioned earlier, the *Book of Appendices of the* Dānistan. This invaluable manuscript is in the collection of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, classified by the shelfmark Ms. or. oct. 33, hereafter referred to as MS Berlin.

Remarkably, this manuscript has not attracted the attention it rightfully deserves from Ottoman historians, with the notable exception of Marijana Mišević, who delves predominantly into its Serbian facets.[4] Both Gülru Necipoğlu and Ferenc Csirkés, in their respective articles on the inventory by Atufi, were not aware of the whereabouts of the manuscript, and Csirkés noted that it was "presently unidentifiable."[5]

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3   As a practical constraint, this article will focus exclusively on the primers. A comprehensive evaluation of the broader Ottoman project of Greek learning necessitates an in-depth examination, which is forthcoming in my book tentatively entitled *Greek Learning and Byzantine Scholars at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth Century*.

4   M. Mišević, "Writing Slavic in the Arabic Script: Literacy and Multilingualism in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2022), 54–92, 567–69.

5   G. Necipoğlu, "The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library: An Encyclopedic Collection and Its Inventory," in Necipoğlu, Kafadar, and Fleischer, *Treasures of Knowledge*, 1:1–77, at 55, 76, n. 182; F. Csirkés, "Turkish/Turkic Books of Poetry, Turkish and Persian Lexicography: The Politics of Language

MS Berlin is an integral part of a group of at least five surviving codices, designed to serve as primers, referencing Greek and several additional languages, each with its distinct substance and style. The Berlin codex is the most comprehensive of these. Its binding of sumptuous crimson velvet adorned with floral motifs exemplifies one of the distinctive trademarks of the scriptorium of Mehmed II. This exquisite binding can be dated to the latter half of the 1470s at the latest, as it exhibits a striking affinity with the fifteenth-century bindings of numerous other philosophical manuscripts, both in terms of material and ornate embellishment.[6] Upon scrutiny of the orthography and content, I am inclined to trace the grammar book's origin to the mid-1460s, a decade earlier.[7]

As the title suggests, the *Book of Appendices of the* Dānistan serves as a supplement to a Persian–Ottoman Turkish lexicon and grammar named *Dānistan*.[8] This

collective work, featuring contributions from various authors, presents a rich tapestry of linguistic material, interweaving Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Serbian, and Latin elements alongside the dominant Greek component.

The composition utilizes two distinct scripts, Arabic and Greek, necessitating each to begin from a separate point to accommodate them (Figs. 1 and 2). The Arabic text proceeds from right to left, while the Greek text begins at the opposite end, from left to right. Thus, we encounter two distinctive openings, one from the left and the other from the right.

For the sake of coherence, I shall adhere to the foliation of the Staatsbibliothek, beginning my investigation from the right, in keeping with the conventions of the Arabic script. The opening presents an introduction to the Greek alphabet, coupled with pronunciation guides for various syllabic combinations. This methodology is repeated for the Medieval Serbian and Latin alphabets as well. The content of the manuscript is evidence of the elementary Greek education program at the Ottoman court, which supplemented language learning with an introduction to ancient Greek philosophy. A brief breakdown of the chapters is as follows:

> *From Right to Left*
> Preface by an unknown compiler in Arabic, fols. 2v–14r.
> Verb list and grammar (especially conjugations) of Greek and Serbian with Persian equivalents. Both Greek and Serbian are written in the Arabic script, fols. 14v–66v.
> Nouns in Greek and Serbian with Persian equivalents. All in the Arabic script, fols. 67r–107r.
> Pronouns in the same manner, fols. 107r–109r.
> Numbers in the same manner, fols. 107r–113r.
> A more detailed chapter on numbers in Greek and Serbian with Arabic equivalents. All in the Arabic script, fols. 114v–119r.
> Greek reading piece entitled "Opinions of Philosophers." The Greek text is written in the Greek alphabet. Underneath, it is transliterated in the Arabic script, and underneath this is an Arabic translation, fols. 120v–140v.
> Greek reading piece about the Lydian King Croesus (r. 585–546 BCE) and the "philosopher/sage" Solon following the same tripartite system, fols. 141v–234v.

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under Bayezid II," in Necipoğlu, Kafadar, and Fleischer, *Treasures of Knowledge*, 1:673–734, at 710, n. 154.

6   For similar bindings from the scriptorium, see J. Raby and Z. Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style* (London, 1993), 169–81. Also note that most of these bindings include philosophical and geographical works produced for Mehmed II. Our MS Berlin's binding is especially similar to a manuscript of al-Fārābī's (d. 950) compilation of pseudo-Platonic writings entitled *Taqwīm al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya* (Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, MS A. 2460), dated to circa 1480. Another is Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī's (d. 1311) commentary on the magnum opus of the Platonic philosopher Suhrawardī (d. 1191) entitled *Kitāb Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, MS A. 3236), dated to the late 1470s.

7   The physical examination of watermarks might shed further light on this question. Also, if the obscure reference to the Persian emperors in the preface of the manuscript (see the appendix below) can be read as a reference to Mehmed II's victory over the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 1452–1478) at the Battle of Otlukbeli in 1473, one must then date the manuscript to the 1470s. However, this reference is not specific. The simplification of the orthography from MS Berlin to MS Topkapı, discussed below, is a particularly strong indication that MS Berlin's text is earlier. Through the usage of yet another related manuscript, MS Topkapı is dated below to ca. 1474, and therefore MS Berlin's text is most likely earlier than this date. Finally, Kritovoulos's reference to the activities of the year 1465, again discussed below, seems to be a reasonable starting point for the beginning of the primer project. MS Berlin could be a clean copy of an earlier manuscript from the 1460s, though produced in the 1470s. It may have been rebound as well.

8   The book is called *Dānistan* after its first entry. In a way, its naming is similar to the lexicon called Αἱμωδεῖν, which was named after its first entry too.

Fig. 1. MS Berlin, fol. 343v. Reading from the left, the Greek alphabet. In the bottom right corner of the page, Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal stamped by Atufi during the cataloguing process has been erased by a later hand but is still detectable. Photo courtesy of the Berlin State Library.

Fig. 2. MS Berlin, fol. 5r. The preface, containing Mehmed II's name and titles in red ink. Photo courtesy of the Berlin State Library.

From Left to Right
Greek alphabet, fol. 343v.
Pronunciation exercises, syllables, fols. 343v–300v (Fig. 3).
(Italian) Latin alphabet, fol. 299r (Fig. 4).
Latin syllables, fols. 299r–285r.
(Serbian) Cyrillic alphabet, fol. 284r.
Serbian syllables, fols. 283r–236v.

The Arabic preface is an intriguing piece with some general remarks about language, knowledge, and mankind that are infused with philosophical vocabulary. We learn that this work was commissioned by Mehmed II, who is praised as the sultan of two

mighty lands and two exalted seas by the author of the preface.[9] The author notes that Mehmed ordered a collection of non-Arabic-script books and their grammars. The author continues:

> He [Mehmed II] ordered the collection of non-Arabic[-script] languages and their rhetoric [or grammars], and he commissioned the translation of expressions from them. So I realized his exalted order—may God eternalize his

9   MS Berlin, fol. 5r–v; this was a standard way to refer to Mehmed in his era's literature. See below for the same formula used by Amiroutzes in his Ptolemy translation.
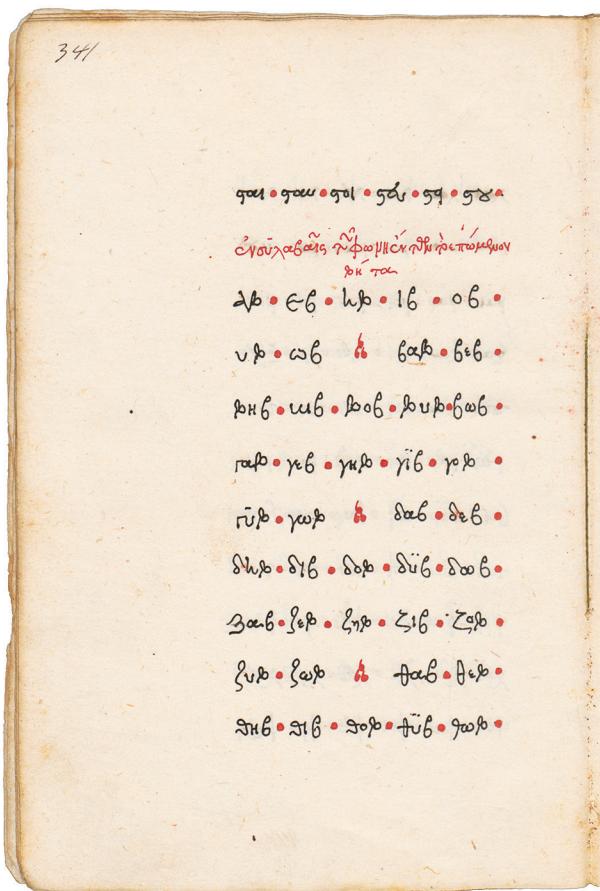
Fig. 3. MS Berlin, fol. 341r. Syllable exercises for pronunciation. Photo courtesy of the Berlin State Library.

Fig.4. MS Berlin, fol. 299r. The "Italian" (Latin) alphabet. Photo courtesy of the Berlin State Library.

glory forever. And I clearly traced this image with obedience. [May he be] eternally exalted in his loftiness. He has collected books in various languages and has [ordered] the preparation of documents to explain confusing phrases in those languages with his grace. With the help of this copy, the student may, on his own, joyfully enter a desert of words of ambiguous origins. Whoever wishes [to learn a language] may on his own step into a garden of precise phrases and chapters with the agency of this [book]. I have named it the *Book of Appendices of the* Dānistan *in the Languages of Greek and Serbian*.[10]

The author then proceeds to delineate the structure of the work, a tripartite composition comprising three chapters: the first on verbal nouns (or infinitives), the second on derivations and conjugations, and the third on nouns. He notes that he also added some material to the preface about the transliteration system and pronunciation.[11]

The preface begins with explanations about pronunciation and basic differences between Ancient Greek and the Greek of the fifteenth century (referred to as "the Greek of the present age"). For Ancient Greek, the author uses the phrase "the language of the *yūnān*" (Arabic term for ancient Greeks from the toponym Ionia), and he uses the "language of the Byzantines" (*rūm*) for Medieval Greek.

10   See MS Berlin, fols. 5r.10–6r.2; for the Arabic text, see the appendix below.

11   MS Berlin, fol. 6r.

He adds a few remarks about the Roman rule in Greek lands and the emperor Constantine. About this history, the compiler notes that:

> It is obvious that the letters [and accents?] that are written as such in the present age in the Greek [*rūm*] language are more numerous than the letters that were written in the ancient language, the language of ancient Greeks [*yūnān*]. After the Romans left their ancient homeland, which is the land of Europeans [or Latins] [Ar. *firanj*] at the present time, and after settling down in the country of the Greeks, [starting] with their emperor called Constantine, they mixed with locals. It was difficult to differentiate them from one another; [it was difficult to determine] who was Greek, who was Roman, and so on. They used the ancient Greek language, and they spoke in their tongue, except that [7v] they added words to it other than their original words. This is why the letters in which the language of the common people of the Romans [viz., Byzantines] is written are more numerous than the letters in which the language of their elite is written, which is the language of ancient Greece.[12]

With "letters," the author seems to be referring to sounds rather than the alphabet. Alternatively, he thinks that accents were introduced in the Roman period, though we know today that the development goes back to the Hellenistic period. This aside, he would be right in suggesting that the original writing system was more straightforward, with fewer marks. However, for the purposes of this article, the important aspect is that the preface feels the need to discuss the ancient history of the Greek language. The author mentions earlier, when discussing the profusion of languages, the

Fig. 5. MS Berlin, fol. 14v. The beginning of the conjugation portion, with the verbal nouns. From right to left in each column, Persian, Medieval Greek, and Serbian, all written in Arabic script. Photo courtesy of the Berlin State Library.

aim of knowing what was in the minds of the ancient Greeks.[13] This is the first sign of the things that will come in the codex.

The author then explains in detail the transliteration system in Arabic. He mentions the difference between the language of the elite and the commoners (*lughat ʿawāmm*) during his time among the Byzantines. He makes a bold claim by adding that the ancient Greek pronunciation is used among the elite of the Byzantines (Romans). He is meticulous about this pronunciation and ends his comments by saying that this book

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12 MS Berlin, fol. 7r.1–v.5. See the appendix below for the Arabic text. This portion of the preface sounds similar to the remarks at the beginning of the chronicle of Chalkokondyles, who had direct contact with the Ottoman court's Greek entourage. Furthermore, the manuscripts of the chronicle he left behind were in the hands of some actors involved in the primer project, most notably George Amiroutzes. For the relevant passages in the chronicle discussing the history of the Greek language and the mixing of the Romans with Greeks, see Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *The Histories*, trans. A. Kaldellis, 2 vols. (Cambridge MA, 2014), 2–7.

13 MS Berlin, fol. 4r. See the appendix.

Table 1. Beginning of List of Infinitives in MS Berlin, fol. 14v.

Persian	Greek in Arabic Script	Greek (Reconstructed)	English
دانستن	اِقْسَورماَ	ηξεύρημα[1]	To know
شناختن	غْریكِزْماَ	γρίκησμα[2]	To know; to be heard of
شناسانیدن	غْرِیقَاَنِزْماَ	γρίκανησμα[3]	To instruct; preach; declare
آموختن	ماَثْماَ	μάθημα[4]	To learn
خواندن	ذِیَاَوَاَزْماَ	διάβασμα[5]	To read
نویستن	غْراَیْسِماَ	γράψιμα[6]	To write
فرمودن	اوُارِزْماَ	ορίζμα[7]	To order; prescribe; command
نمودن	ذِقِسْماَ	δείκνυσμα[8]	To show
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

1 From the medieval form ἠξεύρω. The form ἐξεύρω appears too. In modern Greek, the verb is ξέρω.

2 From ἀγροικῶ, γροικῶ, εγροικώ. The infinitive in our work seems to follow the γροικῶ from.

3 Derived from the previous verb.

4 From μανθάνω.

5 From διαβάζω.

6 From γράφω.

7 From ὁρίζω.

8 From δείκνυμι, δεικνύω. In modern usage, δείχνω.

contains "the true knowledge of Greek and of speaking it eloquently."[14]

After that, the actual book begins with the infinitive (or verbal noun; Ar. *maṣdar*) (Fig. 5). This portion of the book is based on the abovementioned Persian–Ottoman Turkish primer called *Dānistan* by an unknown author, Meḥmed ibn el-Ḥāc İlyās. It is also called *Tuḥfetü'l-hādiye* in some manuscripts. It was written before 1460 for beginners in Persian.

The compilers of our Greek manual have taken this Persian list and replaced the Ottoman Turkish with Greek and Serbian equivalents. Like the original, our text begins with a list of infinitives (Table 1). It has three columns on each folio—from right to left, Persian, Greek, and Serbian. All are written in the Arabic script. It can be deduced that the book assumes no previous knowledge of Greek for it teaches the verbs using an intelligible writing system for the reader, the transliteration of which is explained in the preface. The Greek alphabet and writing system are taught at the end of the

manuscript. The list contains infinitives for 223 verbs.[15] Since infinitives disappeared during the long history of spoken Greek, the compilers seem to have had some difficulty providing equivalents for all of them.

The compilers want to end all infinitives with -μα, probably for the sake of simplicity. This may seem artificial initially, but it is still possible within the context of spoken Medieval Greek. Also, since there is no exact equivalent in Greek of the Arabic verbal noun, this is probably as close as it gets.[16] It is also evident that the transliterations in the Arabic script are primarily based on pronunciation, as if somebody was uttering the Greek words and a scribe was transcribing. The unusual aspect of infinitives notwithstanding, the following part on conjugation is more consistent.

After the aforementioned long list of verbs in the infinitive form, we encounter a detailed treatment of conjugating simple and complex tenses and related

14 MS Berlin, fols. 11v–12r. There follows a similar subchapter about Serbian, but I will not be discussing it.

15 The list of the original Persian–Ottoman Turkish lexicon is not completely standardized. Some manuscripts list more words, others omit some. Similarly, our Berlin manuscript does not follow to the letter any particular copy that I am aware of. It seems to contain a few extra words.

16 As we will see below, the Topkapı manuscript below provides more natural forms of these.

Table 2. Beginning of the List of Nouns in MS Berlin, fol. 67r.

Persian	Greek in Arabic Script	Greek (Reconstructed)	English
خدا	تَوْوُاسْ	θεός	God
آسمان	أُرانوُسْ	Οὐρανός	Sky
سپهر	سْتَراؤُوُامَا	στερέωμα[1]	Heavens; Wheel of Time/Fate; Firmament
چرخ	تروُاخواسْ	τροχός	Wheel: Wheel of Time/Fate (implied)
ستاره	آسْتروُانْ	άστρον	Star
اختر	فُوُاستِرْ	φωστήρ[2]	Star; Constellation
سياره	پلَانِيتَ	πλανήται[3]	Planet
وآن هفتست	اكِينَا اَپْتَآ اِينَ	εκείνα επτά είναι	Those are seven
قمر	سَلِين	Σελήνη	Moon
عطارد	ارْمِيسْ	Ερμής	Mercury
زهره	آفْروُاذِيتِ	Αφροδίτη	Venus
مشترى	زِفْس	Ζεύς	Jupiter; Zeus
شمس	اِيلِوُوُاسْ	Ήλιος	Sun
مريخ	آرِسْ	Άρης	Mars
زحل	قْروُانوُاسْ	Κρόνος	Saturn
…	…	…	…

1   This concept of moving heavens controlling one's fate does not have a direct equivalent in Greek literature as one specific term to the best of my knowledge. The compilers seem to have made it up from the verb στρέφω with their artificial shortcut of -μα.

2   In this case, the Persian and Greek words seem not to be total equivalents, since φωστήρ means "light of stars" or "radiance."

3   One would expect πλανήτης here, but that is not seen in the Greek word in Arabic script. In the Topkapı manuscript, it is correct.

grammar topics, covering conditionals, modals, and adverbs. The division of these grammar chapters closely adheres to Arabic and Persian grammatical categories. In adapting the Persian–Ottoman Turkish primer, our codex's compilers conscientiously retained its organization. Consequently, certain groupings of Greek grammar might appear strange and contrived because of this.[17]

While the manuscript does have its share of esoteric and peculiar grammatical minutiae, it undeniably excels in elucidating basic tenses and forms. It provides students with the rudimentary skills required to conjugate verbs in simple tenses and construct straightforward sentences.

This linguistic foundation rests on a knowledge of nouns, which is supplied by the subsequent chapter, "Nouns," with the term "God" as its first entry. It subsequently treats the realm of celestial beings (Table 2). In select cases, the compilers crafted Greek equivalents, grappling with the absence of precise Greek counterparts. Yet after this one encounters a smoother transition into more readily translatable nouns, thematically organized.

The adapted portions of the book draw to a close at this juncture, albeit with a few caveats. There are 877 thematically organized entries up to the section on numbers. If repetitions and usage variants are not counted, the book contains more than six hundred nouns and their Greek equivalents.

After this list, the adaptation from the Persian lexicon cum grammar book of *Dānistan* ends, making it clear that the court's Greek education program was planned in great detail. The subsequent

17   After the long list of infinitives, we encounter only four verbs conjugated in each subchapter. Seemingly, students were expected to conjugate other verbs on their own by using those examples. In the book's second half, only the verb "to know" and its conjugations are provided.

Fig. 6. MS Berlin, fol. 120v. The first reading piece, "Opinions of Philosophers." Photo courtesy of the Berlin State Library.

the very beginning of their Greek education, to classical Greek writings. This does not sound like the act of a pragmatic educator aiming to instruct secretaries in the art of diplomatic correspondence.

The first reading piece (fols. 120v–140v) is on the opinions or judgments of philosophers (Fig. 6). The Greek title reads γνῶμαι τῶν φιλοσόφων (Opinions of philosophers) and the Arabic title *aḥkām al-ḥukamāʾ* (Judgments of the philosophers). The text reads like a condensation of ideas related to philosophy. It is not composed of direct quotations from the works of ancient philosophers, as far as I know. Rather, the dicta are paraphrased in simplified Medieval Greek—for example, Πὰν πράγμα, ὃ θέλεις πράσσειν βουλευτέον σοὶ πρώτερον, εἰ πρακτέον. The Arabic translation provided is: *Kullu shayʾin taqṣudu ʿamalahu yanbaghī laka an tushāwira fīhi awwalan*. A rough translation in English would be, "Everything that you want to do, you must first contemplate whether it should be done."[19] The remainder of the text continues in this nature.

This chapter containing the "opinions of philosophers" serves two main purposes. Firstly, it teaches students simple sentence construction, usually in the present tense with clauses. Secondly, it provides basic ethical advice. However, the intriguing aspect is that students are expected to read about philosophy at the beginning of their Greek-language instruction.

The second reading piece, again of a philosophical nature, is far longer and of a historical nature as well. The chapter spans folios 141v–234v and bears a title exclusively in Arabic: *Hikayat al-malik Qirīsūs wa Sūlūn al-ḥakīm*, "The story of King Croesus and the philosopher (or sage) Solon" (Fig. 7). This chapter adheres to the same Greek script–Arabic script–Arabic translation format as the first.

The narrative embarks upon a vivid depiction of Croesus and his kingdom, intricately woven with contemporaneous references. For instance, it is noted that

few hundred folios comprise the compilers' original contributions.[18] As mentioned above, two contributions adopt an interlinear structure, with a line of Greek in its native script above, a line of Greek transliterated in the Arabic script below, and, beneath it, a line providing an Arabic translation. These extensive reading pieces or assignments expose the students, at

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18   These are preceded by another chapter on numbers (fols. 114v–119r). As mentioned, the Serbian sections end with numbers. The format slightly changes in this additional chapter. Instead of Persian, we have a column of Arabic numbers on the right, Greek in the middle, and Serbian on the left. The list has an entry for each digit from one to one hundred, followed by the hundreds (e.g., two hundred, three hundred, etc.) up to one thousand. In this chapter Greek is still written in Arabic script.

19   Fol. 120v. This sentence looks very similar to a passage in the *Ars rhetorica* (Τέχνη ῥητορική) attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (d. ca. 7 BCE). See Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ars rhetorica*, ed. H. Usener and L. Radermacher, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1899–1929), 10.14.15–16; I thank the second anonymous reviewer for bringing this passage to my attention. Simply put, this is one of the indicators that the compilers were well-read in the Greek rhetorical tradition. Moreover, at least one Greek manuscript from the Ottoman court library included a rhetorical work of Dionysius. See Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 3561, fols. 120v–126v.
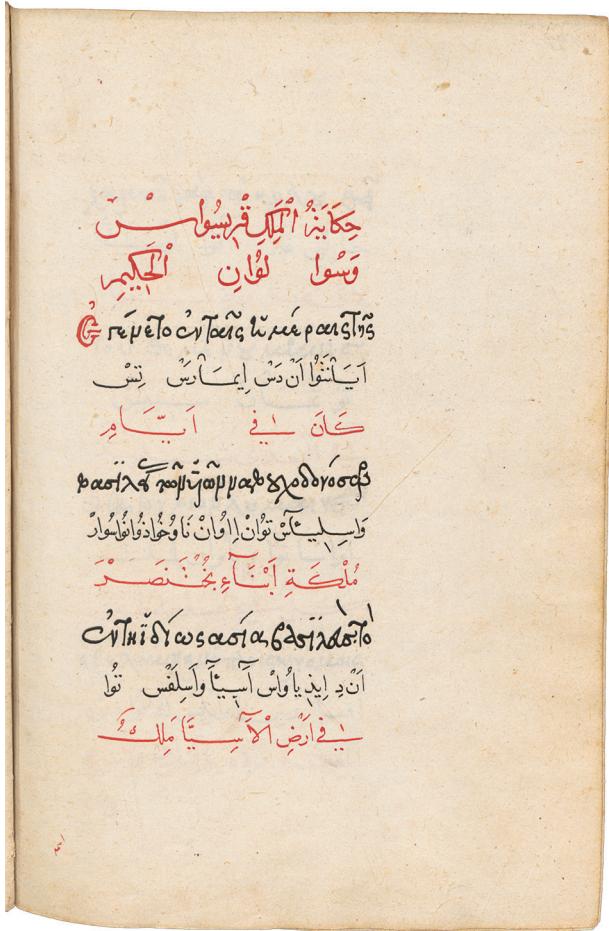
Fig. 7. MS Berlin, fol. 141v. The second reading piece. Photo courtesy of the Berlin State Library.

the eastern border of his dominion was demarcated by the river Halys (Ἅλυς), about which the text notes, "in our time, it is called *ḳızılçe ırmaḳ* (χἰζιλτζἐ ἥρμάκ) in Turkish."[20] This indicates that the text represents an original composition tailored for our primer rather than a direct quotation from ancient Greek sources.

Subsequently, in alignment with such sources as Herodotus, the text traces the contours of Croesus's biography, elucidating his opulence, his capital in Sardis, and his construction of a golden statue of Apollo, among other activities.[21] It also interjects general observations on paganism. It then introduces

Solon of Athens (*atinī*), an esteemed sage (σοφός), emphasizing his position as one of the seven lawgiver sages of ancient Greece, and delves into Solon's sojourn in Egypt, where he encountered Egyptian mysteries, mathematics, and practical knowledge. The text traces his subsequent travels across Greece and Asia Minor, expounding on the wisdom of the Greeks and their illustrious cities. Solon's odyssey eventually leads him to the court of Croesus.

The renowned dialogue between Croesus and Solon, a staple in classical literature, begins after this point. In the conventional renditions found in classical sources, Croesus, believing himself the world's happiest individual due to his unparalleled wealth, poses a question to Solon: "Who is the happiest in the world?" Solon, in response, names Kleobis, Biton, and Tellus as the happiest, since they met favorable ends, two passing away in their sleep and the third while defending his homeland.

In our version Tellus is omitted, and the narrative treats the story of Kleobis and Biton. Their act of escorting their elderly mother to a religious festival, identified here as the "Festival of Zeus, *Olympeia*," deviates from the traditional reference to the festival of Hera in other sources. The text adopts a monotheistic tone, attributing their ultimate happiness not necessarily to Zeus but to their profound love for God in the monotheist sense. This nuanced perspective sets the stage for a distinctly spiritual undercurrent.[22] Furthermore, our account introduces Harmodius and Aristogeiton, seemingly inserted by the compilers. These figures emerge as valiant resistance fighters against the oppressive Athenian tyrant Peisistratus (d. 527 BCE).[23]

Predictably, Croesus finds Solon's response displeasing. Solon underscores his essential point, contending that true happiness can only be determined in the face of death. Later, divine retribution for Croesus's arrogance manifests through the Persians and their emperor Cyrus, who lays siege to his realm. In the wake of Cyrus's assault, Croesus meets his end as a despondent man. Amid the narrative's ebb and flow, interspersed with reflections on ancient Greek paganism, specifically the cults of Zeus and Apollo, are insights into the tales of Kleobis and Biton and Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

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20   MS Berlin, fol. 142v. The modern name is Kızılırmak. Both the modern name and the variant provided in our text mean "red river."

21   The text adds that Sardis was known as the province of Saruhan in the fifteenth century. See MS Berlin, fol. 144r.

22   MS Berlin, fols. 178r–193v.

23   MS Berlin, fols. 196r–202r.

This narrative, a philosophical discourse on happiness, was accessible to the compilers at the Ottoman court in various versions, including accounts by Herodotus and Diogenes Laertius, and even the references in the *Souda*.[24] Importantly, this story aligns with a broader objective of acquainting students with the ancient Greeks, particularly their philosophy, which supports the hypothesis that familiarity with classical thought was a significant part of the Greek-language education at the court, starting at the elementary level.

The style of this second reading piece mirrors the first; both are characterized by simplified language and vocabulary, avoiding lengthy and intricate sentences. It leaves the reader with the clear impression that, having progressed through this material, students would be equipped to decipher basic texts yet still not proficient in the "high" register. In order to explore more intricate texts and the intermediate and advanced-level teaching materials and their context offered at the Ottoman court, I will first introduce the sibling codices of the Berlin manuscript, all prepared as primers. They will provide us with more insight regarding supplementary education about the ancient Greeks, philosophy, and science, as well as a clearer picture of the composition of the primers.

Sibling Codices I: The Topkapı Manuscript

The Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, with the shelfmark Ahmet III 2698 (henceforth MS Topkapı) includes treatises directly related to themes common to the classical Greek philosophers, not only language. Its change in style shows the compilers' plurality of views and gives insight into the chronological order of the primers. Its table of contents is as follows:

1. A comprehensive hexaglot adaptation of the *Dānistan* to various languages (Ancient Greek, Medieval Greek, Turkish, Latin, Armenian), fols. 1v–47r.
2. A shorter adaptation of the *Dānistan* (Medieval and Ancient Greek variants, Turkish, Latin), fols. 52v–58v.
3. A treatise on Greek terminology of logic, fols. 62v–65v.

4. Arabic to Greek (also Persian and Latin) paradigmatic tables with complex tenses and their conjugations, fols. 67v–73v.
5. A treatise on the basics of Greek philosophy, fols. 74v–81v.
6. A treatise for correctly spelling the names of Greek philosophers, fols. 82v–88r.
7. A treatise on Greek astrological terminology, fols. 89v–91r.

The manuscript's beginning again contains an adaptation from the Persian–Ottoman Turkish grammar and lexicon known as the *Dānistan*. The Arabic preface in MS Berlin is lacking, however. MS Topkapı starts with the first subchapter on infinitives after a very brief beginning.[25]

This manuscript's adaptation of the *Dānistan* includes more languages. Persian words are written with a pen with a larger nib, a giant size compared to the other languages (Fig. 8). Above the Persian words are Ottoman Turkish equivalents, while underneath are the Ancient Greek, Medieval Greek, Latin, and Armenian equivalents. The different languages are written in different colors. Both forms of Greek are written in red ink, Latin in greenish gray, and Armenian in orange. The division between the Medieval and Ancient Greek forms can also be understood as spoken and written, which is the high register of the era with archaic elements. The work begins with the word "to know." Everything in this chapter is written in Arabic script, similarly to MS Berlin. An example is the verb "to read": Persian (خواندن [khāndan]), Ottoman Turkish (اوقمق [okumak]), Medieval Greek (آنَغْنُوْزْمَا [αναγνώσμα]), Ancient Greek (أَنَغْنُوْسِس [ἀνάγνωσις]), Latin (لَجَرە [Legere]), Armenian (قَرْتَأْل [Կարդալ]).[26]

24   The Ottoman court had originals of these texts in Greek; see below.

25   This is the beginning part of the original Persian–Ottoman Turkish lexicon by Meḥmed ibn el-Ḥāc İlyās. The name of the work appears as *Tuḥfetü'l-hādiye* on the cover page. It also has Bayezid II's seal. See MS Topkapı, fols. 1r–2r.

26   MS Topkapı, fol. 2r. The Armenian reflects Middle Armenian. Another sibling manuscript (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Ayasoya 4767) only contains the Armenian alphabet introduction and vocalization as pronunciation help, similar to the Greek in this example. For the Armenian portion of the primer, related materials, and context, see M. Pifer and S. Budak, "Learning Middle Armenian at the Court of Mehmed II: Language, Knowledge, and Power before the Imperial Rise of Ottoman Turkish," *al-ʿUṣūr al-wusṭā: The Journal of Middle East Medievalists* 32 (2024), forthcoming.

Fig. 8.
MS Topkapı, fol. 2r,
detail. Photo courtesy
of the Topkapı
Palace Museum.
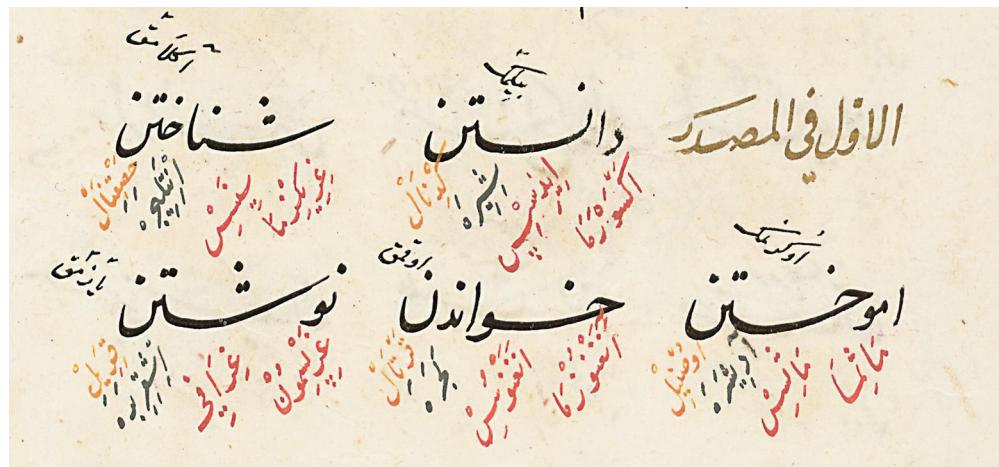
As one quickly notices, although the manuscript compilers follow the same strategy of ending all infinitives with the ending -μα, the word choice is slightly different here. MS Berlin has διάβασμα for reading, while MS Topkapı has ἀνάγνωσμα. The pronunciation and spelling are also different. For example, "to know" is rendered as ἐξεύρεμα, not with ἠξεύρημα as in MS Berlin. Also, for an *o* or *u* sound, a *wāw*, not *alif-wāw*, is used. Such different stylistic tendencies reveal that another individual (or individuals) prepared this portion of the Topkapı manuscript. These stylistic differences may be detected to some degree in translations from Greek commissioned by the court as well. The simplification of the orthography is most likely a sign that this copy is slightly later than MS Berlin.

The manuscript does not explain how it differentiated between Ancient and Medieval Greek registers. The previous example may create the impression that these two are related words, not two different registers.[27] However, upon examination of the rest of the manuscript it can be deduced that the compilers wanted to provide two Greek registers. For example, the word "to write" conjugated in the third person past tense (s/he wrote) is in Persian provided as نوشت while the Greek equivalents are ἔγραψεν and γέγραφεν. Another example in the same portion (third person past tense), "to learn," is conjugated as ἔμαθεν and μεμάθηκεν. In both cases, the first form is the same as the

modern Greek conjugation with the final extra *ν*.[28] The second form is archaic. Although the conjugated forms are not always consistent throughout the manuscript, the rest of the conjugations, whose morphology would require its own study, follow the same pattern. In the case of nouns, the difference between the Ancient and Medieval or written and spoken registers gets trickier. For example, for the term "horse," the book provides us with ἄλογον and ἵππος; for "donkey," γαϊδούρι and ὄνος. Concerning the first example, it is true that ἄλογον is the same as the modern (without the final ν), but the term itself appeared in the ancient period. In the second example, we have a clear distinction. The word γαϊδούρι is a Medieval Greek borrowing from Arabic. Therefore, it has no Ancient ancestor. Also, the final consonant is dropped, suggesting that the transformation toward its modern pronunciation was already completed upon the composition of our primers. In short, the compilers aimed to provide two registers of Greek, Ancient and Medieval (or written and spoken), as successfully as possible in MS Topkapı.[29]

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27   For example, ἀνάγνωσμα can be taken as a text one reads, while ἀνάγνωσις is the act of reading.

28   See MS Topkapı, fol. 10r; cf. the same part in the shorter adaptation on fol. 53r.

29   During the Byzantine period there was not always a clean-cut division or sharp dichotomy between the two registers. I am using this division for the sake of simplicity. In other words, spoken and written registers were not different universes as conventional historiography assumed. One could also come across hybrid usages. Authors from ancient and medieval times often wrote in different styles. For a concise account of the relationship between different registers of Greek in the Byzantine period, see P. A. Agapitos, "Greek," in *Literary Beginnings in the European Middle Ages*, ed. M. Chinka and C. Young

Fig. 9. MS Topkapı, fols. 52v–53r. The beginning of the second adaptation. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

The manuscript's structural framework is consistent with the Berlin manuscript; it begins with the introduction of infinitives and progresses through conjugations, nouns (with varied groupings), adjectives, pronouns, and other grammatical elements. In some instances only a single Greek equivalent is provided,

due either to the absence of the term or its continued use across both ancient and medieval periods. This grammar section extends until folio 47r.

Curiously, the manuscript takes a rather peculiar turn as it presents another adaptation of the same work from folios 52v to 58v (Fig. 9). It seems that various attempts were made to adapt the Persian–Ottoman Turkish grammar to Greek and other languages more effectively. This second adaptation also commences with infinitives, aligning more closely with the Berlin manuscript in spelling, though differing in word choice. Strikingly, there appears to be an effort to strike through Ancient Greek usages at the beginning, which introduces a unique element to this adaptation.

(Cambridge, 2022), 255–75. For a perceptive analysis of the question of different registers, their sociolinguistic entanglements, and the ways in which they were perceived by Romantic historians of Greek and Arabic who were under the influence of the categories assigned to European vernaculars and Latin, see M. Mavroudi, "The Modern Study of Selfhood in Byzantium Compared with Medieval Europe and the Islamic World: Parallel and Diverging Trends in the Construction of 'East' and 'West,'" *Palaeoslavica* 30.1–2 (2022): 234–304.

Table 3. Beginning of Glossary in MS Topkapı, fol. 62v.

Arabic	Greek in Arabic Script	Greek Reconstructed	English
جزئي	مَرِيقُوْنْ	μερικών/μερικόν	Particular
كلي	كِينوْنْ & قَثْوْلُوْ	κοινόν & καθόλου	Universal
ذاتي	اوُسوُيوُذَسْ	ουσιώδες	Essential
عَرَضي	اِپوُيوُذَس	επουσιώδες (?)	Accidental; Nonessential
جنس	پِينوْسْ	γένος	Genus
فصل	ذِيَافُورة	διαφορά	Difference; Differentia
نوع	اِيذُوسْ	εἶδος	Form
…	…	…	…[1]

1 At the end, an Arabic note reads, "Here ended the Greek terminology of logic." In total, this chapter comprises 132 logical terms in Arabic and their Greek counterparts, with the exception of an equivalent for the term مانعة الخلو (disjunctive conditional). One folio (61) of this glossary of the *Isagoge* is misplaced, probably during a rebinding process.

In contrast to the first adaptation, the second includes Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Greek (again, two versions), and Latin.

The page layout diverges slightly—Persian is not written with an oversized letter and therefore does not dominate the layout. While the color code is retained, the arrangement of languages around Persian displays more inconsistency in this second adaptation. It is evident that these adaptations were prepared independently and subsequently bound together. The chapter and subchapter headings in both versions are executed in gold ink and appear to be by the same hand, suggesting that after binding, these golden headings were added to intentionally left blank portions. The grammar structure in the second adaptation mirrors the first, but it is notably shorter, concluding with the section on passive participles on folio 58v.

Following this is a chapter dedicated to the Greek terminology of logic. In this manuscript the title is absent, but another copy with an extant title will be introduced below. It begins with the word *Isagoge*, although this should not be taken as the title of the work. This chapter operates as a glossary, offering Greek equivalents for Arabic terms of logic, primarily derived from Porphyry's *Isagoge*. While the *Isagoge* in Arabic was a standard text in madrasa education, this glossary represents a unique endeavor to compare its Arabic terminology with the original Greek. Additionally, it includes other logic terms in Greek, not exclusively from the *Isagoge*. This chapter underscores

the integration of philosophical education alongside elementary-level language instruction. Furthermore, its affinity with the madrasa context suggests that the Greek teaching program tried to gain an advantage from what the students already knew.[30]

The glossary's structure is straightforward, with Arabic terms in black ink paired with their Greek equivalents in red ink. Instead of an alphabetical arrangement it lists terms by importance and frequency. The list starts with "particular" and "universal" and continues with increasingly complex terminology (Table 3).

A brief section on conjugations, distinct from the earlier *Dānistan* adoptions, follows this chapter (Fig. 10). This new chapter, containing paradigmatic tables, bears the title *Amthila muṭṭarida al-maʿlūm* in Arabic. It is based on the initial text of Arabic education in the Ottoman context, referred to as *amthila* (*emsile* in Ottoman Turkish). This standard educational tool presented students of Arabic with tables for learning conjugations, typically featuring the Arabic verb "to help" (*naṣara*) conjugated in all persons as exemplar. There

30 A similar strategy is followed by a language-learning aid in Ottoman, Latin, and Italian from the eighteenth century; a description of that manuscript, with information on the ways in which foreign languages were learned, can be found in M. Mavroudi, "An Italian Aid for Learning Ottoman: Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, MS I-15 4," in E. Litsas, S. Mpougioukli, and M. Mavroudi, "Κατάλογος Χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν," *Μακεδονικά* 42 (2017): 423–56.

Fig. 10. MS Topkapı, fols. 67v–68r. The beginning of the paradigmatic tables. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

are two versions of the *emsile*: the simple (*muḫtalifa*) and the comprehensive (*muṭṭarida*). Our comprehensive version incorporates Arabic terms alongside Greek, Persian, and Latin equivalents.

The word βοηθῶ (βοηθάω) is given as an equivalent of "to help." It is conjugated first in the present tense, then passive, past continuous, etc. Unlike the previous chapters' strategy, only one verb is conjugated in different tenses. The beginning can be found in Table 4.

The entire chapter appears to serve as a complete reference for students eager to practice all conceivable conjugations of a single verb. This section extends beyond the spoken language to encompass written registers, distinguishing it from the Persian–Ottoman

Turkish adaptations of the *Dānistan*, which seem geared more toward spoken language.[31]

Following the impressive display of intricate conjugations of the verb "to help," the chapter appends a list of additional verbs without conjugations, likely so that students conjugate the provided examples independently.[32]

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31   It is possible to see conjugations of complicated tenses—for instance, the middle/passive optative starting with βοηθοίμην (MS Topkapı, fol. 69r) or complex constructions of perfect and aorist conjugations, e.g., the aorist passive optative starting with βοηθηθείην (fol. 71r).

32   MS Topkapı, fols. 71v–72r.
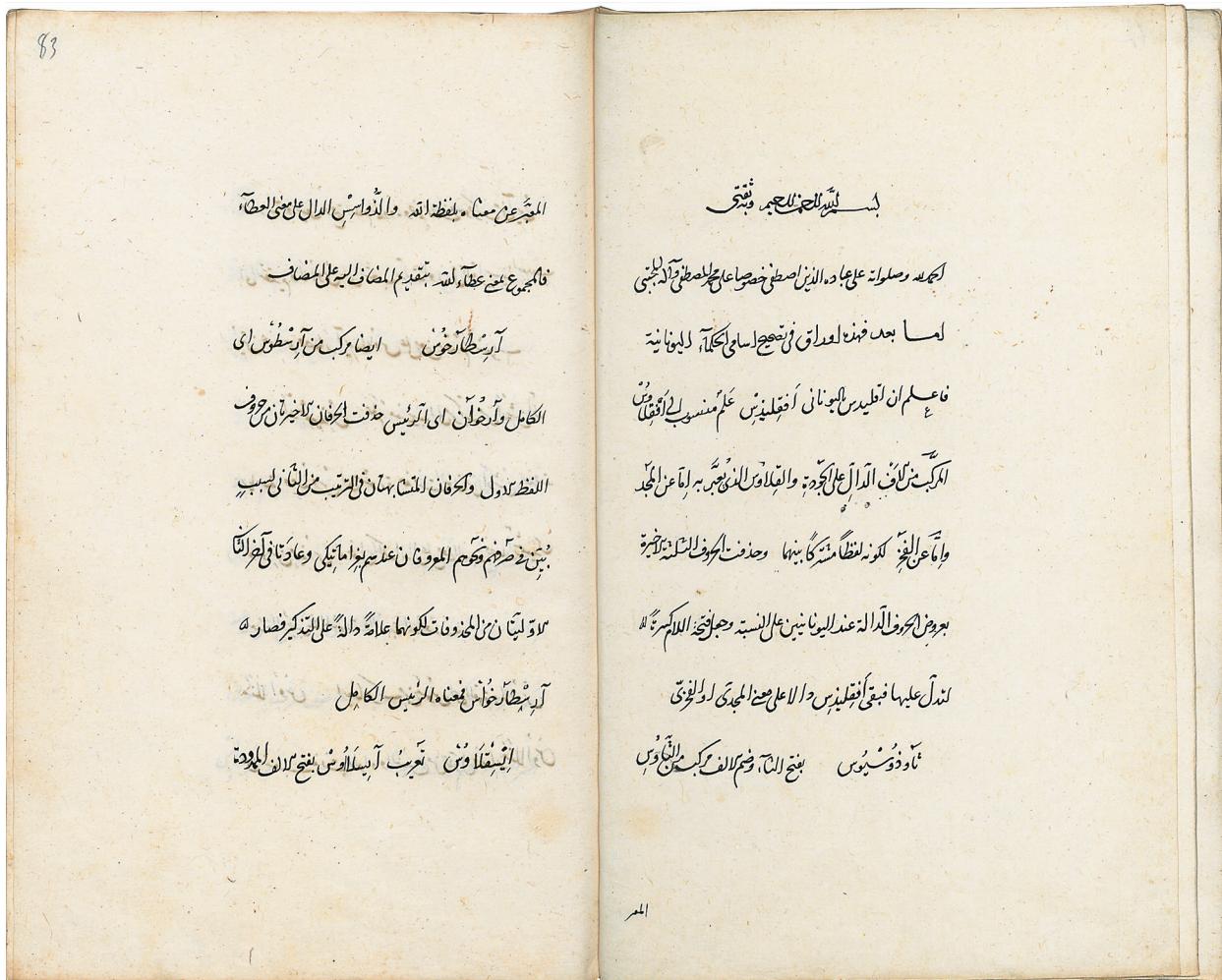
Fig. 11. MS Topkapı, fols. 82v–83r. The chapter about spelling philosophers' names correctly. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

The chapter then treats pronouns[33] before concluding with an exploration of grammatical terms.[34]

At the very end of this chapter, we encounter an Arabic quotation from al-Ṭūsī.[35] Three Arabic

treatises follow, which, while not directly related to Greek-language instruction, constitute the next stage in this educational program, delving into science and philosophy.

The first treatise (fols. 74v–81v) is an encyclopedic discourse containing terminology of philosophical knowledge and cosmology. The second treatise addresses the correction of the names of philosophers, rectifying the distortion in the Arabicization of Greek philosophers' names that occurred during the translation from Greek to Arabic movement between the eighth and tenth centuries (Fig. 11). Although the text notes

33   MS Topkapı, fols. 72r–73r.

34   MS Topkapı, fol. 73r–v.

35   The quote reads as follows: الكلمة في لغة اليونانيين كانَت تدلُّ بانفرادها على وقوعها في الحال و تُسمى قائمةً ثم تُصرَف الي الماضي والمستقبل وبِأدوات لذلك يقترن بها. A rough translation would be: "The word in the language of the Greeks is denoted by its occurrence in the present, meaning it is happening now, then it is conjugated in the past and the future using tools [viz., prefixes and suffixes] that get attached to it." See fol. 73v. It seems that it is trying to explain Greek conjugation to Arabic readers. Since the author is not identified further (the text only refers to him as *muḥaqqiq* and mentions him as dead), I assume it is the celebrated

scholar Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274). However, I could not locate this quote in any of his works that are accessible to me.

"Philosophers' Names" (*Asāmī al-ḥukamāʾ*), the treatise extends its corrections and etymologies to include other types of scholars. It offers corrections and etymologies for the following names, in the order given: Euclid, Theodosius (of Bithynia), Aristarchus, Hypsicles, Archimedes, Menelaus, Eutocius (of Ascalon), Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Hippocrates, Galen, Ptolemy, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Anaxagoras, Meletus, Zeno, Pherecydes (of Syros), Parmenides, and Heraclitus. This list includes not only philosophers but also mathematicians, two renowned physicians, and other luminaries such as Ptolemy.

Typically, each philosopher receives a single paragraph, occupying nearly half a folio page in the manuscript and rendered in a relatively large script. Notably, Pythagoras receives the most extensive treatment, spanning almost one-and-a-half pages, underscoring the significance attached to him.

The third epistle in the manuscript pertains to the terminology of "the divine Greek scholars," serving as a treatise on the nomenclature of astrology, which naturally includes geometrical and geographical terms. In this context, "the divine science" appears to refer to the science of stars.

The composite structure of the texts in the manuscript presents intriguing complexities for historians. While they seem to be an amalgam of texts gathered under the same binding, they are clearly not the work of the same hand. These writings likely date from the 1470s, as can be seen from their calligraphic features, especially the headings, whose script styles those that can be particularly associated with Mehmed II's scriptorium. In short, the manuscript is a striking witness to the activities and the education program at the court, just like its other siblings.

Sibling Codices II: Two "Tetraglot" Manuscripts and an Armenian Alphabet

In the Ayasofya collection of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul are two manuscripts that once belonged to the Ottoman court library. These are MS Ayasofya 4749 (henceforth Ayasofya A) and MS Ayasofya 4750 (hereafter Ayasofya B).[36] They enable us to discern the aims of the elementary-level Greek-education program.

These two manuscripts are better known than the others discussed in this article. They were first publicized in an article by Ahmet Caferoğlu in 1936,[37] and the Ayasofya B manuscript was later meticulously edited and published by the Slavist Werner Lehfeldt.[38] It is the only printed text of our primer corpus. However, the published text is based on the shorter manuscript of the two and Lehfeldt's main focus is on Serbian.

Both manuscripts begin with an interlinear text, a quartet of languages provided in linear order referring to itself as *kitab manṭiq* (book of speaking) (Fig. 12). The top line is the Arabic text, which is the original composition, written in black ink. Beneath it is the Persian translation in crimson, Greek in emerald, and Serbian in orange, all written in Arabic script. While the Arabic text is consistent in both Ayasofya A and B, the translations exhibit some variations in vocabulary and orthography, indicative of multiple compilers in the crafting of these two manuscripts.[39]

In essence, the content does not constitute a traditional text but rather a mix of everyday phrases befitting conversations among schoolchildren. Clues within the text suggest a readaptation, a notion previously postulated by Lehfeldt. For instance, one couplet reads: "Where are you from? I am from Bukhara." Elsewhere the student says that he is now allowed to speak Khwarazmian. One can therefore conclude that it was adopted from an Arabic–Persian handbook prepared in Central Asia,[40] with the Serbian and Greek added to the original by the compilers.[41] It shows us that we are

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36 Both manuscripts are recorded in Atufi's inventory. See Necipoğlu, "Spatial Organization," 54.

37 A. Caferoğlu, "Note sur un manuscrit en langue serbe de la bibliothèque d'Ayasofya," *Revue internationale des études balkaniques* 3 (1936): 185–90.

38 W. Lehfeldt, *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte: Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbisches Gesprächslehrbuch vom Hofe des Sultans aus dem 15. Jahrhundert als Quelle für die Geschichte der serbischen Sprache* (Cologne, 1989). The author also published a linguistic analysis of the same text; W. Lehfeldt, *Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbokroatisches Sprachlehrbuch in arabischer Schrift aus dem 15./16. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zur Graphematik*, Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Slavistik 6 (Bochum, 1970).

39 Greek orthography and word choice definitely change, although the general meanings are more or less the same. The syntax of the Greek translation is a bit distorted because of the interlinear nature of the text. Lehfeldt also notes that two Serbian translations are two different dialects. See Lehfeldt, *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte*, 2.

40 I have yet to identify the original text adopted.

41 Lehfeldt has concluded that the author of the Arabic text is not a native speaker and that the Arabic in Ayasofya B is close to the

Fig. 12. Ayasofya A, fols. 1v–2r. The beginning of the "tetraglot" text. Photo courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library.

dealing with a globalizing Ottoman court, with threads connecting Central Asia, Cairo, and Constantinople. This tetraglot text also helps us see an additional function of this corpus. It was not only intended for non-native speakers of Greek but could also be used for teaching native Greek speakers Arabic and Persian. Ayasofya B, which Werner Lehfeldt published, ends

with the aforementioned text of the "book of speaking." It does not include anything else.

Ayasofya A does have other material shared with MS Berlin and MS Topkapı, which concerns only Greek and not the other languages—all three include supplementary materials concerning the ancient Greek philosophers, revealing the interconnectedness of the primers. A table of contents of Ayasofya A follows:

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dialect of Cairo. Divergences in the Greek translation's orthography further hint at differing pronunciations among the Greek compilers. Although it is very difficult to reach a conclusion at this point, perhaps one was from Constantinople and the other from Trebizond; Lehfeldt, *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte*, 304.
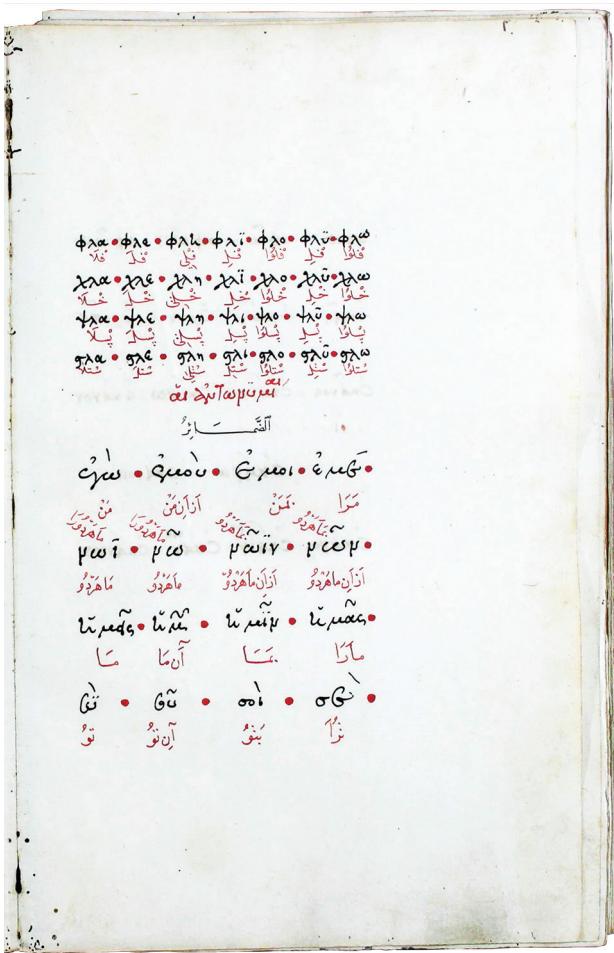
Fig. 13. Ayasofya A, fol. 73v. Pronouns with interlinear study notes (in Persian) in red. Photo courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library.

The treatise on the Greek terminology of logic, fols. 63v–66r.

Paradigmatic tables from Arabic to Greek, fols. 67v–72r.

Greek alphabet, syllables, and pronouns, fols. 73r–101v.

Like MS Berlin, Ayasofya A begins from the left with the Greek alphabet. Then follow lists of syllables for learning Greek pronunciation. This manuscript includes what appears to be study notes of at least one student. Under or next to some of the syllables, a hand wrote their pronunciations in Arabic script. This is a sign of careful study. Following the syllables is a short

list of pronouns in the Greek alphabet. This time, the same hand records their Persian equivalents (Fig. 13), which demonstrates the affinity between the teaching material and translations (see below).

In Ayasofya A, we again have an adaptation of the *Dānistan*. It only has Greek this time. Its orthography (hence, the pronunciation of Greek) is closer to MS Berlin. However, the content and order are a bit different. Thanks to the content, it is possible to assume a more intimate relationship between the two shorter adaptations of the *Dānistan*, with conjugations and the other topics, as explained above, of Ayasofya A and MS Topkapı.[42] A one-page list of Arabic and Greek terms entitled "Ten Categories" then follows. This clearly refers to Aristotle's tenfold categories. It indeed includes terms such as substance (οὐσία = *jawhar*), quantity (ποσότης = *kam*), quality (ποιότης = *kayf*), etc.

Another commonality between Ayasofya A and MS Topkapı is the treatise on the Greek terminology of logic. This time, a proper title is written at the top: *al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-yūnāniyya al-manṭiqiyya* (Greek terminology of logic). Finally, also in common are the comprehensive paradigmatic tables of conjugation called *emsile*. As mentioned, it only provides the Greek equivalents. The multilingual aspect of MS Topkapı is not followed in Ayasofya A. If the tetraglot text at the beginning is not counted—it may have been bound later—the manuscript is devoted to Greek only.

To sum up, I can safely argue that the second half of Ayasofya A reads like a clear copy of the second half of MS Topkapı, except for the part on the Greek alphabet, which is more similar to MS Berlin. However, the unique component of MS Berlin, its two Greek reading pieces, does not appear in any other manuscripts that I am aware of. These varying degrees of overlap between the extant manuscripts also suggest the existence of others.[43]

42   It looks like a copy of the short second adaptation in the manuscript. As mentioned, its orthography is closer to the Berlin manuscript.

43   For example, in his inventory Atufi records a Persian–Greek dictionary that was perhaps a diglot version of one of the adaptations of the *Dānistan*. He similarly records one Greek–Turkish dictionary. Along with original copies of al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 1144) Arabic–Persian lexicon entitled *Muqaddimat al-adab*, Atufi lists a copy of its Persian–Latin (*afranjiyya* [perhaps Italian]) adaptation. He lists one Persian to Hebrew dictionary as well. Finally, Atufi records a Greek dictionary written in the Greek alphabet (*maʿa khaṭṭ yūnāniyin*).

At this juncture, I will introduce briefly our final sibling manuscript, dedicated solely to the Armenian alphabet. This manuscript, MS Ayasofya 4767, offers a compelling impression of having been prepared to complement the longer hexaglot adaptation of the *Dānistan* in MS Topkapı. Dated to the year 923 in the Armenian calendar (1474 CE), MS Ayasofya 4767 exhibits a stylistic and structural harmony with its sibling language-learning primers, consistent with the collection found in the Ottoman palace library during this period. Moreover, it bears the seal of Bayezid II and the inscription of Atufi, suggesting that it was extracted from another codex.

The opening pages of MS Ayasofya 4767 introduce us to Armenian writing, in the Bolorgir script: թուական զրիս ջիզ ("the date of this writing is 923"). This is the only primer that is dated and the dating aligns with the codicological features of the other primers.[44] Beneath this statement, a second hand provides an interlinear translation, in red ink and Arabic script, conveying the same message. A comprehensive table showcasing the Armenian alphabet in minuscule form follows.

The ensuing twenty-seven folios present an extensive compilation of one-, two-, three-, and four-letter syllables of the Armenian script. Beneath each syllable is the corresponding combination of letters transliterated in Arabic script. The system is consistent and aligns with the Greek alphabet portions in other primers.

In other words, we are not dealing with one book and its many copies, but many books and many copies prepared to teach Greek by the same circle of teachers and intellectuals at the court, as if each manuscript copied some files from a very large folder of language learning and supplementary teaching, but none copied the entire folder. The Greek handwriting in the reading assignments of MS Berlin may help us identify at least one of the compilers and reflect on the circles that

prepared these primers and, more significantly, on the larger context of these Greek-language education materials at the Ottoman court. Through this context, many Byzantine intellectuals involved in this project can be identified, which challenges commonplace hypotheses about Byzantine scholars traveling only to the West as a result of Ottoman expansion.[45]

Mehmed II, George Amiroutzes, and a Network of Byzantine Scholars

Mehmed II's personal interest in the Greek language and literature are not unknown. His multilingual and multicultural court hosted Greek, Italian, Arab, Persian, and Jewish intellectuals, artists, and officials. Similarly, he commissioned original works in Greek, Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish. Notably, the court's manuscript collection encompassed not only Greek but also Latin, Italian, Hebrew, and Syriac texts. He commissioned translations from various languages into Arabic, the scholarly lingua franca of the Islamicate world.[46] His acts and deeds were narrated in chronicles

This last title matches the title by Atufi's hand on a page placed upside down before the Armenian alphabet mentioned above. It is obvious that this aforementioned Greek grammar and the Armenian alphabet were initially parts of the same codex. They were separated later, and that page with Atufi's note was misplaced. To the best of my knowledge, all these manuscripts remain to be identified. For these inventory entries, see Necipoğlu, Kafadar, and Fleischer, *Treasures of Knowledge*, 2:193–95, 198; cf. Necipoğlu, "Spatial Organization," 54.

44   See below for more info; see also Pifer and Budak, "Learning Middle Armenian."

45   One final issue related to the primer manuscripts is that, as mentioned in the preface of MS Berlin, Mehmed II collected manuscripts in languages other than Arabic. In addition to those already mentioned, the project also included material in the Uyghur script. A manuscript containing a portion teaching the Uyghur alphabet should be considered a sibling manuscript of the codices examined here. It employs the same strategy of teaching the alphabet and syllables. It is a piece of the court scriptorium. Moreover, it was completed in July 1465. The mid-1460s is the approximate period that I suggest for the beginning of the primer project, which seems to have continued in the 1470s. For the Uyghur alphabet, see Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Lala Ismail 138. There are a few Uyghur-script manuscripts that may be part of the same project, which I have yet to examine. This aspect of employing the Uyghur script is significant to understanding the antiquarianism of the Ottoman court of Mehmed II, which I discuss below in detail. It not only took inspiration from the Byzantine and Italian courts but also from the Timurid court in fashioning its universalist ideology. I will elaborate on the Uyghur material and the larger antiquarianist trends in a future study.

46   Although it is outdated, the standard English account of Mehmed's life and era remains F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, ed. W. C. Hickman, trans. R. Manheim (Princeton, 1978). For Mehmed's cosmopolitan patronage of arts and learning, see G. Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012), 1–81; J. Raby, "A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts," *Oxford Art Journal* 5.1 (1982): 3–8; J. Raby, "Pride and Prejudice: Mehmed

by his courtiers: in Greek by Kritovoulos (d. ca. 1470), in Persian by Maʿālī (d. after 1474), and in Arabic by Karamani Mehmed Paşa (d. 1481).[47]

As John Monfasani points out, Mehmed "fancied himself as something of a philosophic savant."[48] He showed immense interest in Greek and Arabic philosophical books to satisfy his philosophical appetite.[49] As a general remark, one could add that his imperial propaganda is based on fashioning himself as a philosopher-king who inherited the throne of the Roman emperors. While describing his patron's intellectual interests, Mehmed's chronicler Kritovoulos notes:

> To this end also, his wisdom aided, as well as his fine knowledge of all the doings of the ancients. For he studied all the writings of the Arabs and Persians [Ottomans], and whatever works of the Greeks had been translated into the language of the Arabs and Persians—I refer

particularly to the works of the Peripatetics and Stoics.[50]

The conquest of Trebizond in 1461 brought a remarkable Greek philosopher into Mehmed's inner circle who would accompany him in his palace to discuss scholarly matters and be the head of the circle of Byzantine scholars at the court. His name was George Amiroutzes.[51]

Amiroutzes was from a Greek noble family of Trebizond. Historical accounts first record his existence in the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439). He was one of the laymen in the Greek delegation in support of the union of the churches. Later he occupied high bureaucratic positions in the empire of Trebizond. He eventually became *protovestiarios* before the Ottoman conquest. He was instrumental in the negotiations between the two sides. Sixteenth-century chronicles blame him for the capitulation of Trebizond; they knew he was a cousin of the Ottoman grand vizier Mahmud Paşa (d. 1474), of Greco-Serbian origin. After 1461 Amiroutzes moved to Constantinople where he became Mehmed's personal philosopher and was given access to the inner court. Moreover, Amiroutzes reportedly had a house next to the patriarchate, and he dealt with the patriarchate's finances under the command of Mehmed II.

Two of his sons, Basil (whose godfather was Bessarion) and Alexander, became court officials too. They would later convert to Islam, probably in Bayezid II's reign, and take the names Mehmed and İskender, whose sobriquet in Turkish was "son of the philosopher [*feylesofoğlu*]." Basil's Arabic was better

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47 Kritovoulos's *History* only survives in a single manuscript: Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS GI. 3. For an English translation of the work, see Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. C. T. Riggs (Princeton, 1954; repr. 2019). To the best of my knowledge, the *Khunkārnāma* (Book of the sovereign) by Maʿālī (or Muʿālī) is still in manuscript: Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, MS H. 1417. For more information on this work, see S. N. Yıldız, "Ottoman Historical Writing in Persian, 1400–1600," in *Persian Historiography: A History of Persian Literature*, vol. 10, ed. C. Melville (London, 2012), 436–502, at 450–55. Karamani Mehmed Paşa's history is not only limited to Mehmed II's reign. It is divided into two books: the first is a short history of the House of Osman, the second narrates the deeds of Mehmed II. Recently, a critical edition of the Arabic text was published. See H. Taşkömür and H. Yılmaz, "Nişancı Mehmed Paşa and His History of the Ottoman House," in *Crafting History: Essays on the Ottoman World and Beyond in Honor of Cemal Kafadar*, ed. R. Goshgarian, I. Khuri-Makdisi, and A. Yaycioğlu (Boston, 2023), 58–76.

48 George Amiroutzes, *The Philosopher, or On Faith*, ed. and trans. J. Monfasani (Washington, DC, 2021), 24.

49 For the court library in the age of Mehmed II, see E. Jacobs, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek im Serai zu Konstantinopel* (Heidelberg, 1919); E. Jacobs, "Mehemmed II., Der Eroberer, seine Beziehungen zur Renaissance und seine Büchersammlung," *Oriens* 2.1 (1949): 6–30; J. Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," *DOP* 37 (1983): 15–34; J. Raby, "East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library," *Bulletin du bibliophile* 3 (1987): 296–321.

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50 Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, 14.

51 For Amiroutzes' writings, see Amiroutzes, *The Philosopher, or On Faith*; J. Monfasani, ed. and trans., *George Amiroutzes: The Philosopher and His Tractates* (Leuven, 2011); B. Janssens and P. Van Deun, "George Amiroutzes and His Poetical Oeuvre," in *Philomathestatos: Studies in Greek Patristic and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. B. Janssens, B. Roosen, and P. Van Deun (Leuven, 2004), 297–324. For more information about Amiroutzes' activities, biography, and times, see N. Tomadakis, "Ἐτούρκευσεν ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀμιρούτζης," *ΕΕΒΣ* 18 (1948): 99–143; N. Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Biens des Amiroutzès d'après un registre ottoman de 1487," *TM* 8 (1981): 63–78; A. Argyriou and G. Lagarrigue, "Georges Amiroutzès et son 'Dialogue sur la foi au Christ tenu avec le sultan des turcs'," *ByzF* 11 (1987): 29–222; V. Mirmiroğlu, *Fatih Sultan Mehmet Han Hazretlerinin Devrine Ait Tarihi Vesikalar* (Istanbul, 1945), 94–102.

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the Conqueror and the Italian Portrait Medal," *Studies in the History of Art* 21 (1987): 171–94; J. Raby, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II," *JWarb* 43 (1980): 242–46; J. Raby, "*El Gran Turco*: Mehmed the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts of Christendom" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1980).

than that of his father, and he helped his father with the translations from Greek to be discussed below. Alexander became the treasurer of the court.[52] Greek chronicles from the sixteenth century blame Alexander for confiscating patriarchal properties.[53] The Amiroutzes family is important for this study since they operated as a family to deal with the Greek material at the court, which included direct philosophical education, especially the Aristotelian curriculum. The family was also a part of the circle that produced the primers.

Amiroutzes, an ardent Aristotelian, supported Gennadios Scholarios (d. 1473) and his Aristotelian party against Pletho's (d. 1454) Platonism during the Plato-Aristotle controversy in the fifteenth century.[54]

Not surprisingly therefore, in contemporaneous literature Amiroutzes is referred to as "the philosopher," following Aristotle's epithet. He discussed philosophy and theology with the sultan until his death in or shortly after 1480. Even during some military campaigns, Mehmed II took Amiroutzes with him to continue their discussions. Amiroutzes himself mentions this in his *Dialogue*, which is a literary reproduction of his discussions in Greek with the sultan in the presence of other courtiers and dignitaries in *meclis* (salon-like gathering) settings.[55] Amiroutzes notes:

> I had become, along with all the Greeks, the slave of the Despot of the Romans and Greeks [Mehmed II] through his conquest of my homeland, he heard something about me; and because he took delight in debates and in philosophy, he engaged me in discussions, and having approved of me, he ordered that I be in constant attendance and follow in the train of the army, as he entered into conversation with me on philosophy.[56]

In other words, Mehmed's desires and Amiroutzes' talents merged at the Ottoman court in this period to produce a Greek-learning program. Even before he met Amiroutzes, Mehmed II had studied Greco-Roman classics with his courtiers, as noted by many contemporary accounts. Despite such testimony and his commissions and acquisitions of Greek manuscripts, some modern scholars have doubted Mehmed II's knowledge of the Greek language.[57] I will not discuss this issue in detail here but only add that George of Trebizond, who dedicated many works to Mehmed, noted that Mehmed "understands Greek well, Latin not at all,"[58]

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52   A. Bryer, "The Pontic Greeks before the Diaspora," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 4 (1991): 315–34, at 324.

53   The Greek chronicles *Historia Politica* and *Ecthesis Chronica* are very critical of Amiroutzes and his sons. However, some charges against them, including treason, must be taken with a grain of salt. See I. Bekker, ed., *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos: Epirotica* (Bonn, 1849), 130–31; S. P. Lampros, ed., *Ecthesis chronica and Chronicon Athenarum* (London, 1902), 36, 46–47; cf. M. Philippides, trans., *Emperors, Patriarchs, and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373–1513: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century* (Brookline, MA, 1990), 86–87, 102; cf. Amiroutzes, *The Philosopher, or On Faith*, 6–7.

54   Pletho's works and the Plato-Aristotle controversy that he initiated appear to have started another scholarly dispute, the *tahāfut* debate. Historians of the period have not come up with a plausible explanation for why all of a sudden Mehmed II decided to revive a very old controversy between al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and the Peripatetics. I argue that it is an unintentional result of the Plato-Aristotle dispute in the fifteenth century. Mehmed had access to Pletho's works and knew about him through Pletho's students in his service and also through Pletho's archenemy Scholarios and his circle. For example, Kamariotes wrote a treatise against Pletho within this context and George of Trebizond dedicated *Comparatio Philosophorum Platonis et Aristotelis*, a fierce attack against Pletho and Plato, to Mehmed. Shortly after George's sojourn in Constantinople in 1465–1466, Mehmed sought a similar discussion within the Islamicate context. He commissioned two scholars, Hocazade Muslihiddin (d. 1488) and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī (d. 1482), to write books comparing the positions of al-Ghazālī and the Peripatetics shortly after the arrival of George. For more analysis, see Budak, *Greek Learning and Byzantine Scholars*, forthcoming. For the relationship between Byzantine and Ottoman scholars at the court, see M. Mavroudi, "Plethon as a Subversive and His Reception in the Islamic World," in *Power and Subversion in Byzantium: Papers from the Forty-Third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 2010*, ed. D. Angelov and M. Saxby (Farnham, 2013), 177–204; for some preliminaries of the philosophical discussions at the court, see E. M. Balıkçıoğlu, *Verifying the Truth on Their Own Terms: Ottoman Philosophical Culture and the Court Debate between Zeyrek (d. 903/1497–98 [?]) and Ḥocazāde (d. 893/1488)* (Venice, 2023), 23–49.

55   For more information about the functions of meclis at the Ottoman court and its impact on literary and cultural life, see H. İnalcık, "The Origins of Classical Ottoman Literature: Persian Tradition, Court Entertainments, and Court Poets," *Journal of Turkish Literature* 5 (2008): 5–75.

56   Amiroutzes, *The Philosopher, or On Faith*, 39–41.

57   For example, C. G. Patrinelis, "Mehmed II the Conqueror and His Presumed Knowledge of Greek and Latin," *Viator* 2 (1971): 349–54.

58   *Grece bene intelligit, Latinam minime*. See J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic* (Leiden, 1976), 357; also cited in Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," 24; and D. R. Reinsch, "Greek Manuscripts in

while Amiroutzes addresses Mehmed in one of his panegyrics with "Don't be surprised by hearing my language [φωνή], it is not unknown to you as many assumed."[59]

Mehmed's collection of Greek manuscripts is also evidence of his interest in Greek thought. Some seventy Greek manuscripts in different parts of the world can be associated with his royal collection with certainty.[60] Needless to say, the original collection would have been far more extensive. He also had his own Greek scriptorium.[61] Today, we know the names of some of his Greek scribes. Additionally, many sources refer to the presence of translators and translation activity under his patronage. It is also well-known that the Ottoman chancellery used Greek as the primary diplomatic language in its correspondence with Italian states and groups like the Knights Hospitaller until the 1520s.

Greek books were either acquired by the court from various sources or were copied by scribes associated with Mehmed II's scriptorium. These scribes were of significant repute in the late Byzantine intellectual arena. In other words, all Byzantine learned men did not travel to the West after 1453; many of them enjoyed Ottoman patronage. The better-known examples are Gennadios Scholarios and George Amiroutzes. However, many others from the circles of these two figures, or from independent backgrounds, could establish connections with the Ottoman court.

To name a few who worked for the court as copyists, one can mention Matthew Kamariotes (d. 1490), an important pupil of Scholarios, the *megas rhetor* at the patriarchal school, author of various works, including an attack against Pletho within the context of the Plato-Aristotle discussion; John Dokeianos (fl. mid-fifteenth century), an epistolographer, a pupil of Pletho's from

Mystra, and the author of a significant address to the last Byzantine emperor; John Eugenikos (d. ca. 1465), a polemicist, poet, and brother of Mark of Ephesus (d. 1444); and Demetrios Angelos (d. after 1479), a pupil of John Argyropoulos (d. 1487) from Constantinople, physician, a close associate of Amiroutzes, and copyist of voluminous medical writings.[62] As we shall see, this circle, headed by Amiroutzes as the sultan's favorite, left its mark in the court's production of Greek materials, especially the primers.[63] We can also see the parallelisms between the teaching program of the Greek manuscripts produced in the scriptorium and the primers.

Amiroutzes' Hand, Supplementary Teaching, and the Aristotelian Curriculum

A significant portion of the court library's manuscripts originating from the court scriptorium bore the mark of George Amiroutzes. Amiroutzes' handwriting was unknown until very recently. In 2019 Luigi Orlandi demonstrated almost certainly that the Anonymous 4b, which was identified in Harlfinger's *Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift Peri atomon grammon*, was the hand of George Amiroutzes.[64]

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the Sultan's Library," in *Bibliothèques grecques dans l'empire ottoman*, ed. A. Binggeli, M. Cassin, and M. Détoraki (Turnhout, 2020), 105–18, at 112.

59 Μὴ ξενίζου τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπακούων νῦν φωνήν· Οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρία σοὶ, εἰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκεῖ. In the remainder of the poem, Amiroutzes calls Mehmed the emperor of Greeks (Ἑλλήνων βασιλεύς), and he then mentions Alexander's adaptation of Persian cultural elements, echoing Mehmed's cultural capital in both Eastern and Western traditions. In a nutshell, the poem, especially the second half of it, makes a case for Mehmed's right to be emperor. See Janssens and Van Deun, "Poetical Oeuvre," 314.

60 The most up-to-date account of Mehmed's Greek manuscripts is Reinsch, "Greek Manuscripts."

61 Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium."

62 For Kamariotes, see K. Papadakis, "Ματθαίος Καμαριώτης: Τὸ θεολογικό του ἔργο. Μετά ἐκδόσεως ἀνέκδοτων ἔργων του" (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2000); as an example of the court manuscripts that include his handwriting, see Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Phil. gr. 214. For Dokeianos, see A. Calia, "An Unedited Anti-Latin Letter by John Dokeianos to John Moschos of Korone (ca. 1460)," in *Contra Latinos et Adversus Graecos: The Separation between Rome and Constantinople*, ed. A. Bucossi and A. Calia (Leuven, 2020), 483–507; for the manuscripts that he copied for the court, see below. For Eugenikos, see below. For Angelos, see B. Mondrain, "Jean Argyropoulos Professeur à Constantinople et Ses Auditeurs Médecins, d'Andronic Eparque à Démétrios Angelos," in *Polypleuros Nous: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, ed. C. Scholz and G. Makris (Munich, 2000), 223–50; for the relationship between Amiroutzes and Angelos and how they inserted specific passages regarding Trebizond into Chalkokondyles' *History*, see A. Kaldellis, "The Interpolations in the *Histories* of Laonikos Chalkokondyles," *GRBS* 52 (2012): 259–83.

63 Kritovoulos notes that Mehmed "admired him [Amiroutzes] more than anyone else" (or admired him very highly, Gr: θαυμάζει τε τοῦτον διαφερόντως); see Kritovoulos, *History*, 177. For more information about Amiroutzes' position as the sultan's personal philosopher, and how he became a part of the sultan's retinue in the inner court, see Monfasani, ed., *George Amiroutzes: The Philosopher and His Tractates*, 8–9.

64 L. Orlandi, "La scrittura greca di Giorgio Amirutze: Una proposta," *RSBN* 56 (2019): 193–222.

Orlandi lists fifteen manuscripts copied wholly or partially by Amiroutzes in various libraries worldwide.[65] Most of these were in the collection of the Ottoman court, and it seems that some of them were sold, gifted, or removed from the court through other channels within the last five centuries. Representative of both Mehmed's patronage and Amiroutzes' teaching and interests, the content of these manuscripts is intriguing. Two codices containing his handwriting in Vienna (MSS gr. 213 and 214) contain excerpts of Aristotle's *Physics*. One of them has a title in Arabic on the margin of the first page that reads *Kitāb min al-Ṭabīʿiyyāt li-Arisṭāṭalīs* (The book of physics by Aristotle). Another manuscript by his hand in the Vatican with the shelfmark Vat. gr. 613 is a translation of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa contra Gentiles* by Demetrios Kydones. Another Vatican manuscript, Barb. gr. 85, is a copy of *Magna moralia* attributed to Aristotle. It has an Arabic title inside the cover, *Kitāb fī al-ḥikma al-ʿamaliyya li-Arisṭāṭalīs wa-li-ghayrih* (The book on ethical philosophy by Aristotle and others). Moreover, this manuscript contains the scholia by Scholarios.[66]

In addition to the manuscripts listed by Orlandi, another manuscript in the Topkapı Palace (G.I. 39) is a copy of Aristotle's *Parva naturalia*. There are certain features that differ from the other copies in Amiroutzes' hand,[67] yet enough similarities to have no doubt that the manuscript can be associated with the court scriptorium through its codicological features. The last two folios of this manuscript are by a different hand, that of

John Eugenikos, containing a panegyric poem written by Amiroutzes (referred to only as "the philosopher") to Mehmed II upon his arrival in Constantinople after a campaign.[68]

It appears that Amiroutzes and his associates prepared new copies of the entire corpus of Aristotle for the sultan's library.[69] Given the number of Aristotle codices prepared for the court, George of Trebizond's remark to the sultan, "Your Mightiness is also said to study Aristotle even more than those who have a professional responsibility to study Aristotle," is more meaningful, as is Mehmed's statement, in the *Dialogue*, that "God necessarily exists since it is not possible for things to be otherwise, as Aristotle shows in the *Metaphysics*."[70]

The Aristotelian curriculum seems to have been the central element of Armioutzes' teaching program at the court. We also have tractates written by him for this specific purpose. The Toledo manuscript (Biblioteca de la Catedral de Toledo, cod. 96-37) containing Amiroutzes' original works may help us in this regard. John Monfasani recently discovered this autograph manuscript, which contains the lost Greek original of

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65   Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Phil. gr. 213 and 214, two volumes of Aristotle's *Physics*; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 85, Aristotle's *Magna moralia* and Scholarios's *Scholia*; Vat. gr. 613, Acquinas; Paris, BNF, gr. 1289, Scholarios; BNF, gr. 1292, miscellany; BNF, gr. 1294 Scholarios; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 87.17; Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitular, MS 96-37, miscellany of Amiroutzes' writings and miscellaneous passages; Istanbul, Topkapı Palace, G.I. 10, Planudes, *Life of Aesop* and miscellaneous writings; G.I. 12, miscellany; G.I.17, magical miscellany; G.I. 31, Hesiod's *Theogony*; G.I. 33, Oppian's *Halieutica*; and Venice, Archivio di Stato, Documenti Turchi, B18bi, fasc. 14, Mehmed's letter to the Venetian doge Mocenigo in 1480; Orlandi, "La scrittura greca," 221–22.

66   Some other hands by Kamariotes, Scholarios, Angelos, etc., appear in manuscripts containing Amiroutzes' hand as well.

67   That is why it is listed as Anonymous 4a by Harlfinger as one of two related hands; D. Harlfinger, *Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift Περι ἀτομόν γραμμων* (Amsterdam, 1971), 418.

68   For the most up-to-date information and bibliography on John Eugenikos, see N. Aschenbrenner and K. Kubina, "Word as Bond in an Age of Division: John Eugenikos as Orator, Partisan, and Poet," *Speculum* 97.4 (2022): 1101–43. If this hand is not that of another, it forces us to reconsider certain assumptions about the life of John Eugenikos. It is usually accepted that he died in Mesembria ca. 1455. However, this poem by Amiroutzes, celebrating Mehmed's return to Constantinople after a campaign, must have been written after Amiroutzes' arrival in the city after 1461, probably in the mid-1460s. Therefore, Eugenikos must have returned to Constantinople and lived for at least another decade. Additional evidence to support this is the Toledo manuscript that contains the tractates and the *Dialogue* of Amiroutzes. The first half containing these works are copied in the hand of Eugenikos. Again, this must be from the time of Amiroutzes' teaching in Constantinople in the sixties. For the identification of the hand of Eugenikos in the Toledo manuscript, see Orlandi, "La scrittura greca," 215; cf. D. R. Reinsch, "Byzantinisches Herrscherlob für den türkischen Sultan: Ein bisher unbekanntes Gedicht des Georgios Amirutzes auf Mehmed den Eroberer," in *Cupido Legum*, ed. L. Burgmann, M. T. Fögen, and A. Schminck (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), 195–210.

69   One can conclude that Amiroutzes was most likely the most active contributor to the sultan's Greek scriptorium. He was perhaps at the head of it.

70   For George of Trebizond's remark, see J. Monfasani, ed., *Collectanea Trapezuntiana: Texts, Documents, and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond* (Binghamton, 1984), 281; for Amiroutzes' remarks, see Amiroutzes, *The Philosopher, or On Faith*, 43.

Amiroutzes' *Dialogue* with Mehmed. The first half of the manuscript containing Amiroutzes' works was copied by John Eugenikos, whereas the second half is in Amiroutzes' hand. In the first half are also corrections by Amiroutzes in the margin.[71]

Importantly, one of the watermark motifs found in this manuscript, notably the scissor-shaped emblem from Italy, recurrently appears in the manuscripts produced in the court scriptorium.[72] The hands appearing in this manuscript and the type of paper allow us to suggests that it was a product of the court scriptorium from the time of Mehmed II. The content of the manuscript, including tractates prepared for educating elementary-level students, also supports this hypothesis.

In addition to the *Dialogue*, the autograph manuscript contains fifteen tractates in Greek by Amiroutzes related to ancient ideas and introductory material to philosophies of figures such as Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, etc. In terms of style and content, these treatises are remarkably similar to those in Arabic in the MS Topkapı and Ayasofya A primers. Both Arabic and Greek tractates contain elementary material related to ancient philosophy. They are self-evidently prepared for school settings. Moreover, as Monfasani observes, the general framework of the fifteen Greek tractates demonstrates that they resulted from a comprehensive activity of paraphrasing and simplifying Aristotle for teaching purposes. Especially in the first tractate, we observe a program similar to the Arabic ones appended to MS Topkapı. For example, in the case of each philosopher, Amiroutzes explains the etymology of their names, as occurs in the Arabic tractate.

In sum, Amiroutzes and his circle had a twofold education program at the court. First, they prepared Greek-language education materials for non-native speakers. Second, they prepared basic teaching materials in the form of tractates in both Greek and Arabic to teach the fundamentals of Greek philosophy, especially the Aristotelian/Peripatetic tradition.

The Greek Hand in MS Berlin and the Scribes of the Court Scriptorium

In addition to the content of the primers, which places them within the teaching program of Amiroutzes' circle, their physical features connect them to the same group in the court scriptorium.

Although similar to the hand identified as that of Amiroutzes in Orlandi's article (Fig. 14), the Greek hand in MS Berlin, responsible for the two reading pieces in Greek, diverges in certain ways. For example, Amiroutzes' majuscule β always has two equal circles. His ει connections are similar, but the bottoms of Amiroutzes' epsilons are primarily flat. Some other features in MS Berlin, especially σο and σι connections, resemble John Eugenikos's hand. Another possibility is Kritovoulos's handwriting, whose β usage is similar to MS Berlin. However, the closest hand that I know of is that of John Dokeianos. Most of its features are identical to the hand in MS Berlin. The σο and σι connections match, while Dokeianos's περ and παρ connections are quite close to those in the reading pieces. The only real difference with Dokeianos I can determine is MS Berlin's more articulated minuscule βs. Since a Greek-to-Greek lexicon that I discuss below, the lexicon of Eudemos Rhetor (G.I. 26), was copied by Dokeianos for the Ottoman court, he is known to have been involved in the business of preparing instructional material for the court.[73]

All these intellectuals mentioned above, including Dokeianos, were connected to the Ottoman court scriptorium, and they were in Constantinople in the mid-1460s, the beginning of the composition of the language-learning material.

71   We have another hand in Harmonios Athenaios's marginal notes. Harmonios worked as a court official under the Ottomans with the Muslim name Murād Rīm. He was a liaison between Florence and the Ottoman court in the 1470s and worked for Mehmed II's son Bayezid II from 1481 to 1487. He was also instrumental in the Medici acquisitions of Greek manuscripts from the East. It can be deduced from his notes that the manuscript of Amiroutzes' *Dialogue* was in his possession for a while. For more information on Harmonios, see M. Papanicolaou, "Ἁρμόνιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος: Bibliofilo e copista, maestro di greco e diplomatico," *BollGrott* 52 (1998): 283–301; for the identification of his hand in the Toledo manuscript, see Orlandi, "La scrittura greca di Giorgio Amirutze," 219.

72   For the watermarks of the Toledo manuscript, see Monfasani, ed., *The Philosopher and His Tractates*, 19; for similar watermarks from the court scriptorium, see Raby, "Greek Scriptorium," pl. 21.

73   He also prepared an *Iliad* copy for the court datable to the mid-1460s through its watermarks. See Paris, BnF, grec 2685. The court had at least two more *Iliad* copies, which are Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library Museum, G.I. 2, and G.I. 65.
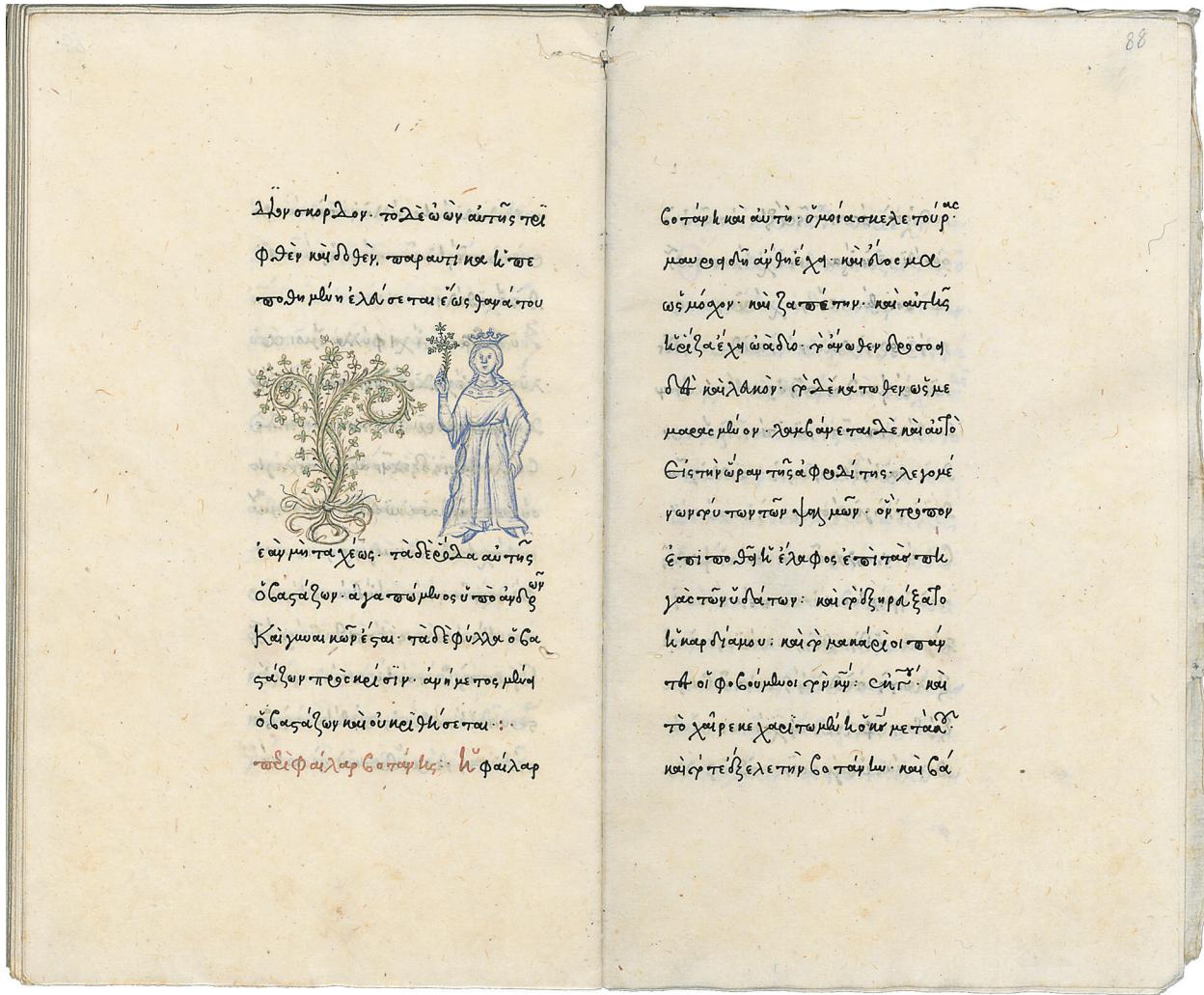
Fig. 14. G.I. 17, fols. 87v–88r. A miscellany of magical writings, copied by Amiroutzes. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

The Binding of MS Berlin and the Court Scriptorium

We can draw valuable insights into similarities from the original bindings of the manuscripts produced in both Greek and Arabic at the court. To illustrate this, a comparison of the crimson velvet binding of MS Berlin, a Greek magical miscellany copied by Amiroutzes, and al-Fārābī's (d. 950) compilation of pseudo-Platonic writings entitled *Taqwīm al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya* is arresting (Fig. 15). These bindings not only serve as tangible testaments to the aesthetic preferences of the products emerging from the court scriptorium in the 1470s and 1480s but also provide us with valuable reference

points for our research. First and foremost, this comparison suggests that at least some of both Greek and Arabic manuscripts were prepared in the same setting. Probably, there was no division between a Greek court scriptorium and an Arabic-script scriptorium. Still, copyists of the Greek ones could have worked not necessarily in the same space, but at least they seem to have brought the folia they completed to the court workshop for bindings in a physical space, where Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts were also bound. Using these reference points or control groups, one could identify further manuscripts from the same setting as well.

In short, as a conclusion to the general discussion of both the content, handwriting, and material aspects

Figure 15. From left, binding of MS Berlin; Istanbul, Topkapı Palace, G.I. 17, Greek magical miscellany, copied by Amiroutzes; and of Topkapı Palace, A. 2460, pseudo-Platonic writings in Arabic attributed to al-Fārābī. Photo courtesy of the Berlin State Library and the Topkapı Palace Museum.

of the manuscripts discussed, we can reiterate that the primers were prepared by the circle of Amiroutzes in the court scriptorium by a group of Byzantine intellectuals, and the Greek handwriting appearing in the reading pieces of the MS Berlin is most likely by John Dokeianos, who was a significant member of this circle. These primers share common features with both Greek and Arabic-script manuscripts produced at the court. On the other hand, changes in orthography and style and many other features mentioned above make it certain that the primers were prepared by a group, not a single author. That is why they must be attributed to the circle of Byzantine intellectuals at the Ottoman court headed by Amiroutzes, not only to him or Dokeianos.

This teaching activity also included the preparation and purchasing of Greek-to-Greek manuscripts and grammar books prepared for the Ottoman court around the same time. One of them is the *Lexicon* of Ps-Zonoras in the Topkapı palace (G.I. 4), completed in 1464 in the scriptorium with the same types of paper used for one of the Aristotle volumes (G.I. 39) mentioned above.[74] By bringing together all these lit-

tle pieces, the complete picture of the Greek-learning project becomes more visible and leads us toward written literature concerning the ancient Greeks and their translations.

Advanced Materials of Greek Instruction

There is one particular anonymous grammar (Topkapı, G.I. 18), completed in ca. 1464, whose content is quite similar to the primer manuscripts described above (Fig. 16). Both G.I. 4, containing the Ps-Zonoras *Lexicon*, and G.I. 18 are copied on the same type of paper with the same watermarks.[75] Rather than a

Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai: Mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai zu Istanbul* (Berlin, 1933), 45, 74. We can also speculate about an informal connection between the patriarchal school after 1453 and the instruction activity in Istanbul. Mehmed's copyist, John Dokeianos, was recorded as one of the teachers at that school in 1474. On top of this, considering the role of the Amiroutzes family, Scholarios, and Kamariotes, an instructional fluctuation between the patriarchate and the Ottoman court in terms of Greek-language education was not unlikely; Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," 21.

74   See Reinsch, "Greek Manuscripts in the Sultan's Library," 113; Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," 17; A.

75   One of the watermarks of G.I. 39 is also the same; Reinsch, "Greek Manuscripts in the Sultan's Library," 113.
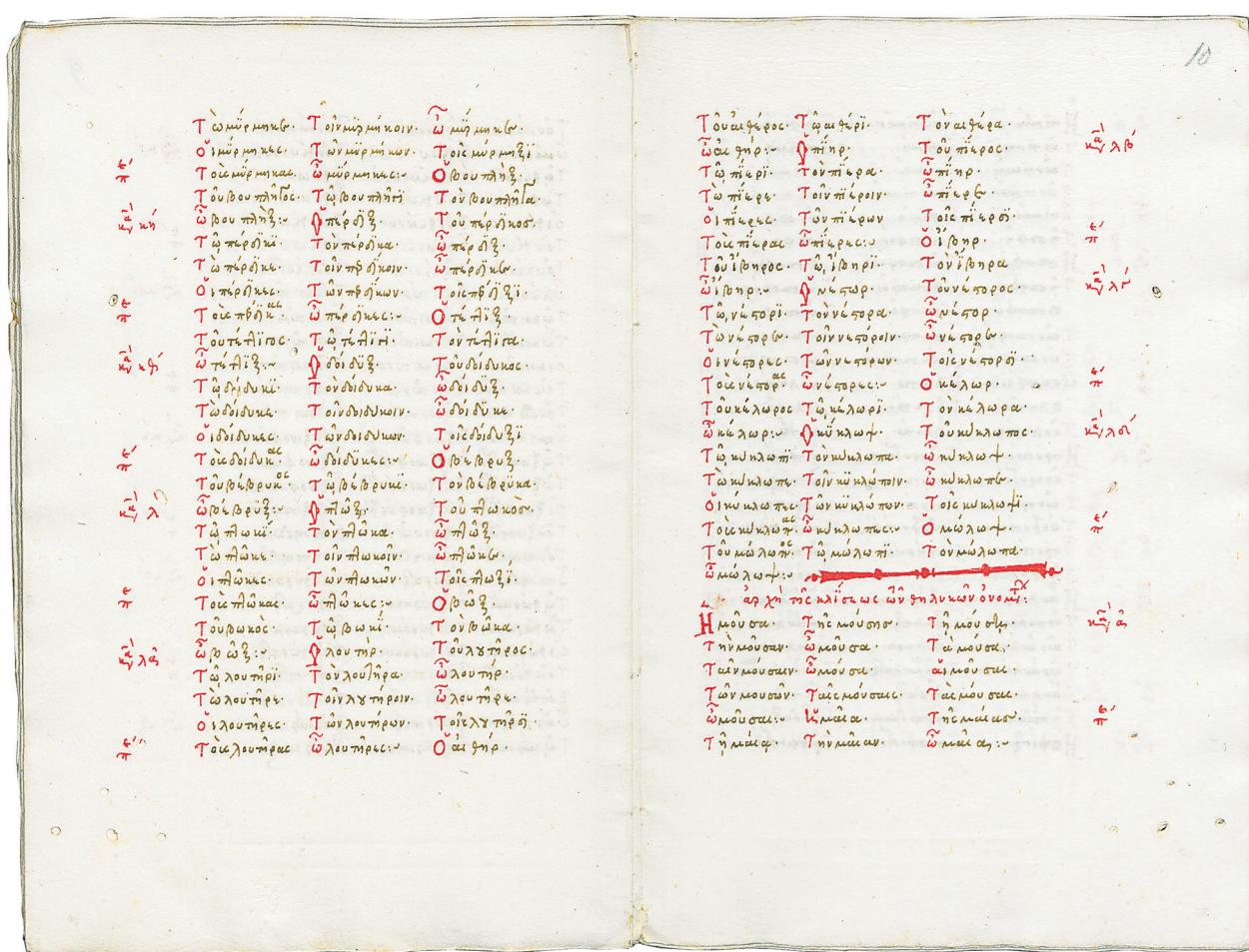
Fig. 16. Topkapı Palace, G.I. 18, fols. 9v–10r. Anonymous grammar. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

book with an introduction and conclusion, the anonymous grammar reads like a list, containing Ancient Greek vocabulary. It includes declensions, conjugations, and additional material such as pronouns and prepositions.

Compared to earlier examples, in G.I. 18 we have a more comprehensive Greek grammar. We can speculate that after learning the Greek alphabet, before directly jumping into reading pieces in MS Berlin, students could use G.I. 18 to sharpen their knowledge about conjugations and declensions. After finishing this intermediate material, they would be ready for more advanced books of grammar.

The court library had many of them; in addition to the already mentioned Ps-Zonaras's *Lexicon* and another copy of it (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 3560), the library had at least two copies of the twofolded grammar by Manuel Moschopoulos (d. ca. 1316)

entitled *Erotemata grammaticalia* and *Schedographia*. One of these in the Ottoman court library (G.I. 15) was copied in 1463 in the court scriptorium. The other includes a *basmala* at the beginning of each part by a later hand, probably added by a Muslim student working on it (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 3557) (Figs. 17 and 18). There was an old manuscript of lexical and grammatical writings in the court from the early fourteenth century (Topkapı, G.I. 7). Moreover, there was a copy of the *Lexicon* by Kyrillos (Topkapı, G.I. 14), copied during the reign of Mehmed II. There were two Greek-to-Latin lexicons (Topkapı, G.I. 23 and G.I. 30). The library had a copy of the *Lexicon* (λέξεων ῥητορικῶν συναγωγή) by Eudemos (Fig. 19).

These advanced books bring us again to the realm of Ancient Greek literature. Not surprisingly, the anonymous author of one of the treatises appended to the language-learning material in MS Topkapı notes at
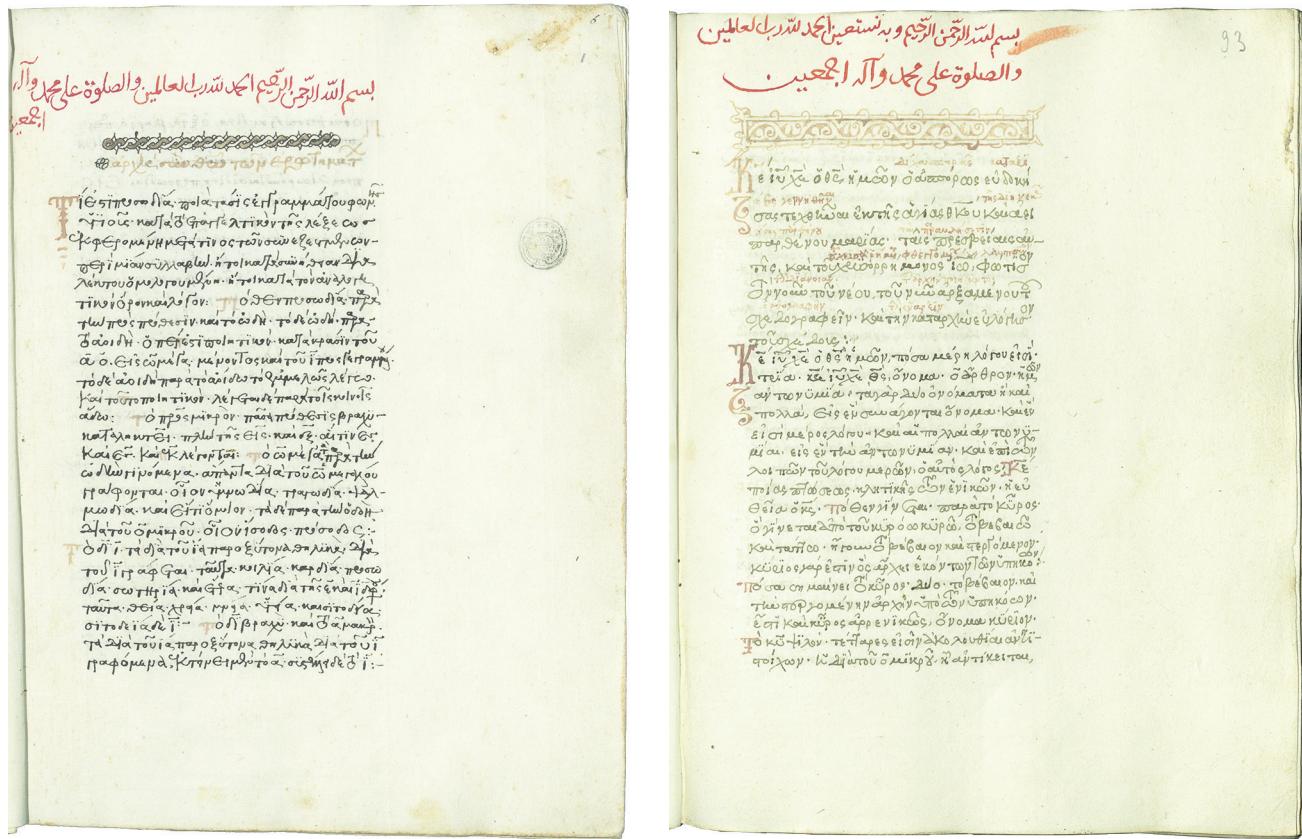
Figs. 17–18. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 3557, fols. 1r and 93r. The beginning pages of Manuel Moschopulos's *Erotemata grammatica* (fols. 1r–90v) and *Schedographia* (fols. 93r–216v), respectively. The *basmala*, etc., at the top of each was probably added by a Muslim student working on this copy. Photo courtesy of the Bologna University Library.

the beginning that "I desire to be directed to [many] types of philosophical sciences, their conditions, the methodology of true learning, and their applications —with the help of God, the inspirer of right things."[76] The intention of the material is quite clear: as with the aforementioned instructional material related to logical terminology and Porphyry's *Isagoge*, it was to teach philosophy and familiarize students with philosophical vocabulary in Greek.

In one of the Greek tractates that Amiroutzes prepared as part of the same project, he notes:

The desire to know the teachings of the ancient philosophers, that is to say, what each held concerning being and the reasons why each came to hold that view, is a characteristic not only of

a soul eager for learning, but no less so also of the philosopher who puts the discovery of truth above all else.[77]

This is intended as an introduction to the history of philosophy or doxography. As far as more advanced-level doxographical accounts are concerned, the court library had at least one copy of Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of Philosophers* and Ps-Plutarch's *Doctrines of the Philosophers*.[78] Members of the palace could use them

76   Fol. 74v.

77   Amiroutzes, *The Philosopher, or On Faith*, 57.

78   Amiroutzes adds at the beginning of his first tractate, "For a complete and accurate account of this subject can be had just from the book that Laertius compiled *On the Philosophical Sects*, and from the book that Plutarch wrote *On the Doctrines of the Philosophers*"; ibid., 57. The court's Laertius manuscript is Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library G.I. 48, and the Ps-Plutarch is Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 87.17. We can certainly conclude that

Fig. 19. Topkapı Palace, G.I. 26, fol. 1r. Eudemos Rhetor, *Lexicon*, copied by John Dokeianos. Photo courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

and many others concerning Ancient Greek philosophy as sources for their philosophical, literary, and historical endeavors. These endeavors included a big project of translations from Greek and some other non-Islamic languages as well as translations into Greek. Below, we will see that the primers—the first steps of a program leading the student to be able to read and translate the ancient Greeks—and the translations are connected in many ways. Additionally, we will see the fingerprints of the circle of Amiroutzes and his family again.

Translations from and into Greek and Connections with Greek Instruction at the Court

I have found surviving copies of and references to twenty translations from and into Greek (and occasionally from other non-Islamic languages) that were produced at the Ottoman court in the second half of the fifteenth century, mostly during Mehmed's reign. Almost all of the surviving translations are in manuscript. While I will not delve into their specifics here, I will offer a glimpse into how these translations converge with the primers.[79]

Amiroutzes used this latter manuscript since his hand's marginal notes can be detected on it. However, he probably had access to more copies of Ps-Plutarch's work since this manuscript does not have the complete text.

79   For a discussion of some of the translations, see M. Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek into Arabic at the Court of Mehmed the Conqueror," in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture*, ed. A. Ödekan, N. Necipoglu, and E. Akyürek (Istanbul, 2013), 195–207;

Mehmed's personal interest in Ptolemy is well-known.[80] The *Geography* by Ptolemy had been translated into Arabic more than once in the Abbasid period. These translations do not survive today, and Mehmed had no access to them as well. Therefore, he must have felt the need to have it translated into Arabic afresh. In the summer of 1465, Amiroutzes and his son Basil, who knew Arabic better than his father, were entrusted with the task of translating the book into Arabic and preparing an expansive world map.[81]

Today, two copies of this translation by Amiroutzes and his son survive. One of them (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Ayasofya 2610) contains maps, including a world map drawn according to the second projection. The second one (MS Ayasofya 2596) contains only the text.[82] In the preface of the second one is a reference to Mehmed's commission as well.[83]

Orthographic changes in these copies are similar to those in the Berlin and Topkapı primers. It seems that while simultaneously working on both the Ptolemy and primer projects, the circle of Amiroutzes had the same stylistic issues with rendering Greek in an efficient way in the Arabic script. Moreover, the function and purpose of the Ptolemy translation connect it to the primers. Both are the results of the same antiquarianist interest.

It is essential to underscore a crucial point in this context: during the fifteenth century, Ptolemy's *Geography* held little practical utility. Its terminology, data, and geographical knowledge could not be readily applied for practical purposes or contemporary operations. Therefore, the Ottoman court's fascination with Ptolemy cannot be explained by a conqueror's request for immediate cartographic aid. Particularly in Arabic translation, the ancient toponyms transliterated into Arabic script would present significant challenges in aligning them with the toponyms current in the fifteenth century, a task far from the realm of military officers. The Greek originals would not offer a more pragmatic solution either. What makes it special for the Ottoman court is rather an antiquarian-like interest in ancient things.[84]

We also have some reports about a Bible translation commissioned by the sultan of Amiroutzes' son Basil, which provides us with a more remarkable connection with the primers. It is not known whether this translation was completed; references to it are contradictory. To the best of my knowledge, only the two sixteenth-century chronicles mentioned above, *Historia politica* and *Ecthesis chronica*, attribute some scriptural translations to Basil Amiroutzes. The *Historia politica* notes:

> At that time in the sultan's palace were the noblest and most learned men from Trebizond. Among them was one of the sons of Amiroutzes, the highly educated Mehmed Beg [Basil], who was knowledgeable in both Greek and Arabic literatures. Since he was so learned, he translated our books of the Christian religion into Arabic upon the sultan's orders. Since the sultan

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cf. M. Mavroudi, "Ἑλληνική φιλοσοφία στην αυλή του Μωάμεθ Β΄," *Byzantina* 33 (2014): 151–82.

80   The court collection had at least two Greek manuscripts of the *Geography* (G.I. 27 and G.I. 57). The second copy is one of the oldest surviving manuscripts of the work, prepared by the circle of Maximos Planoudes (d. 1305).

81   For the details of Mehmed's commission to Amiroutzes in 1465 and how Mehmed busied himself with scholarly engagements in the same year, see Kritovoulos, *History*, 209–10.

82   The text of these two copies is not totally identical. Further studies are needed to understand the exact sources and method of the translation by Amiroutzes and his son.

83   Amiroutzes notes in the preface that "a copy ascribed to the consummate scholar Ptolemy al-Qalūdhī was the most sublime copy to be found of this science [geography]. The great Sultan and puissant Khagan, the Sultan of the two lands and the Khagan of the two seas, divinely ordained by the heavens, victorious over [his] enemies, Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan—may God perpetuate his reign and may place his beneficence and grace in two worlds—ordered the translation of the book from the language of Greeks to the language of Arabs. Thus, this book was executed." The Arabic text is as follows: كان النسخة المنسوبة الى العالم المدقق بطلميوس القلوذي اشرف النسخ الموجودة في هذا الفن. امر السلطان الاعظم والخاقان المعظم سلطان البرين وخاقان البحرين المؤيد من السماء المظفر على عداء السلطان بن السلطان سلطان محمد خان بن سلطان مراد خان بن سلطان محمد خان خلّد الله سلطانه واوضح على العالمين بره واحسانه بترجمتها من اللسان اليوناني الى اللسان العربي فجاء هذا الكتاب. See Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Ayasofya 2596, 1r. It is unclear which Greek manuscript in the court library is referred to in the passage. In my preliminary examination of the two manuscripts of the Arabic translation by Amiroutzes and his son, I noticed that the text does not faithfully follow any of the Greek manuscripts at the court. Instead, it has benefited from all of them. The content also suggests that there were more Ptolemy manuscripts at the court than we know of today. However, because of its maps and the projection, this passage may still be referring to Istanbul,

Topkapı Palace Museum Library, G.I. 57. For a perceptive discussion of the Ptolemy translation, see Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek."

84   For more information on the Ottoman perception of Ptolemy and the issues of practicality, see G. Hagen, "Ptolemaeus Triumphans, or: Maps, Knowledge, and Ottoman Patronage," in *Islam on the Margins: Studies in Memory of Michael Bonner*, ed. R. Haug and S. Judd (Leiden, 2023), 235–67.
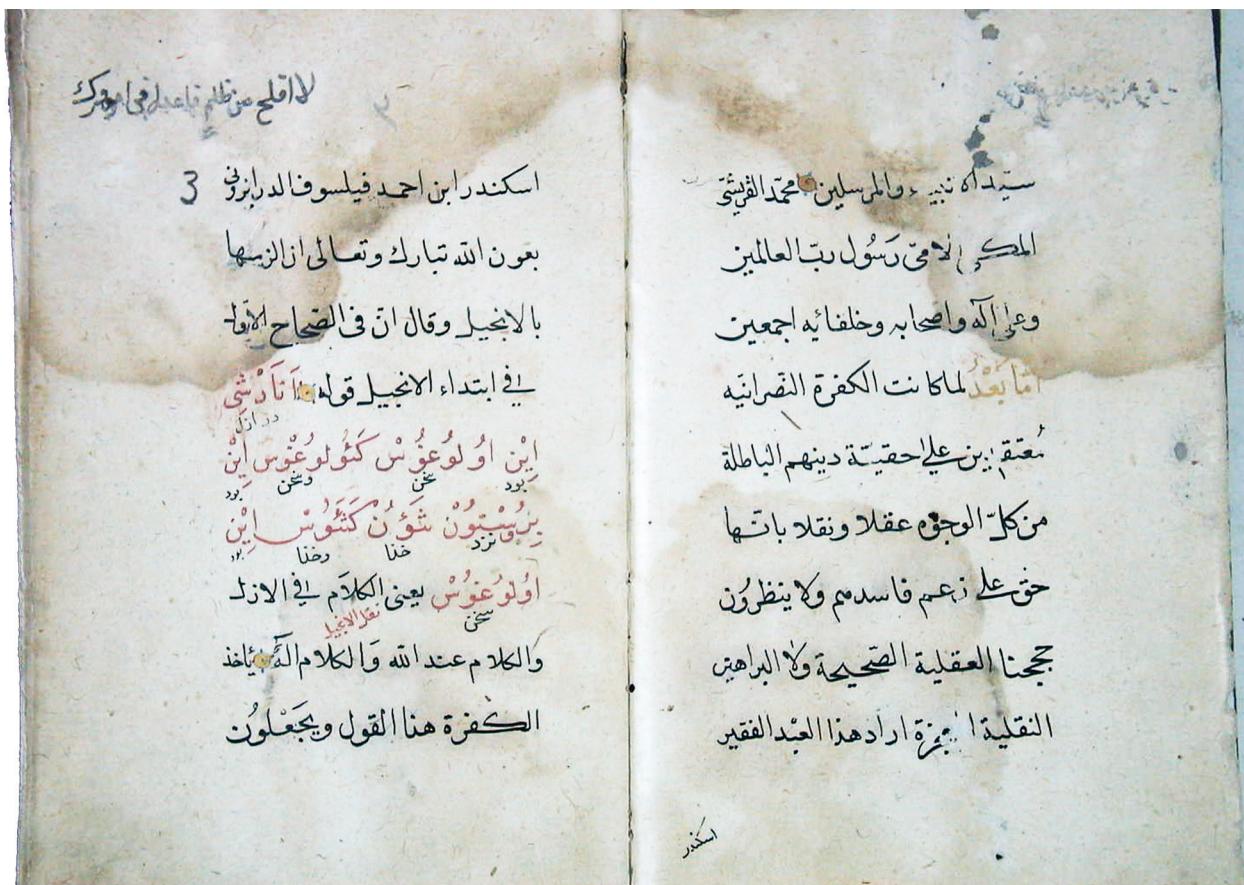
Fig. 20. MS Lala Ismail 261, fol. 3r. Alexander's name begins the first sentence on the verso page. The red Greek quotation in the Arabic script is John 1:1. Interlinear study notes(?) in Persian are provided similarly to Ayasofya A. Photo courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library.

never ceased questioning Amiroutzes' son, as a wise man, and other wise men in his palace about the Christian faith, they explained it in detail [to him].[85]

It is unclear what the phrase "our books of the Christian religion" refers to. The first conclusion is the Gospels or the entirety of the Bible. That is why previous historians, like Franz Babinger, assumed that a Bible translation had been commissioned of Amiroutzes. Moreover, the court inventory lists eleven biblical titles (both the New Testament and the books of the Hebrew Bible) in Arabic and Persian, of which only a few are extant.[86]

The closest candidate to the biblical translation by an Amiroutzes reported in the sources that I know of is a manuscript in the Süleymaniye Library (Lala

85 Ἦσαν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ μέσα εἰς τὸ σαράγη τοῦ σουλτάνου εὐγενέστατοι καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι ἐκ τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα. ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποίους ἦτον ὁ ἕνας, υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀμηρούτζη, ὁ Μεχεμέτ πεΐς, λογιώτατος καὶ σοφώτατος εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν μάθημα καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἀραβικόν. τόσον γὰρ ἦτον σοφώτατος ὅτι τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἐδικά μας τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὰ ἐμεταγλώττισε εἰς τὴν Ἀραβικὴν γλῶσσα διὰ ὁρισμοῦ τοῦ σουλτάνου. ὁ γὰρ σουλτάνος δὲν ἔπαυε ποτὲ νὰ μηδὲν ἐρωτᾷ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀμηρούτζη ὡς σοφὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἄλλους σοφοὺς ὁποῦ εἶχε μέσα εἰς τὸ σαράγη του, περὶ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν, οἱ ὁποῖοι τὰ ἐξηγήθησαν καταλεπτῶς; Bekker, *Historia politica*, 117. Moreover, the chronicle argues at a later passage that Mehmed becomes convinced of the Christian dogma's veracity; ibid., 124. The *Ecthesis chronica* has a very similar passage with the vague reference "our books"; Philippides, *Emperors, Patriarchs, and Sultans*, 87.

86 C. Kafadar, "Between Amasya and Istanbul: Bayezid II, His Librarian, and the Textual Turn of the Late Fifteenth Century," in Necipoğlu, Kafadar, and Fleischer *Treasures of Knowledge*, 79–154, at 100, 108.

Ismail 261) that comprises translated fragments from the Gospels accompanied by polemical explanations. As such, it does not qualify as a complete and independent translation of the Gospels. On the cover page is a note in Atufi's hand: *Tarjamat al-injīl* (the Gospel translation), which he crossed through and replaced with another title, *Risāla fī radd al-milla al-naṣrāniyya bi-al-injīl* (Treatise concerning the refutation of the Christians by verses of the Gospels). The text is thus a polemic against the Christian faith through fresh translations of biblical verses.

The argumentation begins with John 1:1. Before the translation, the author provides the original Greek in Arabic script as follows: اَنَارْشِي اِينْ اوُ لْوُغوُسْ كَنوُ لوُغوُسْ (Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, اِينْ بِرُسْتوُنْ تَنَوُن كَتَّيوُسْ اِينْ اوُ لْوُغوُسْ. καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος).[87]

One quickly notices that the method of providing the original Greek text and its translations in Arabic script in color code is the same as with the primers, especially MS Topkapı. The orthography of the Greek passages in the Arabic alphabet is also the same as the one in MS Topkapı. This demonstrates a direct relationship between our primers and the translations. Moreover, similar to the study notes in Ayasofya A, we observe in this text notes in Persian added under Greek terms. Greek is similarly written in red ink as well. Furthermore, its choice of rendering "o" or "u" sounds with *wa* instead of *aw* is a direct departure from the style of MS Berlin in favor of MS Topkapı. Once again, we observe that there were two stylistic views about how to render certain Greek sounds, and they appear in the case of translations as well.

This biblical translation-cum-polemic has a striking detail (Fig. 20). The author of this text provides his name as follows: "Iskender son of Ahmed the philosopher of Trebizond,"[88] seemingly Amiroutzes' son Iskender (Alexander), who was the treasurer of the court. What are the odds of another Alexander from Trebizond who was capable of translating Greek to Arabic and whose father was called "the philosopher" in the same period at the Ottoman court?[89] On the other hand, one would expect Basil (Mehmed) Amiroutzes to be the translator of such a text since he was known as a skillful translator. It is possible that his brother Alexander knew Arabic too. However, if our translator is really Alexander Amiroutzes, why would he give his father's name as Ahmed? There is very little evidence that Amiroutzes converted to Islam. We actually have contrary evidence to support his abiding Christianity. This treatise was most probably written during the reign of Bayezid II. With the changing winds of politics in the court, Alexander may have felt the urge to indicate that his father died a Muslim, although, in reality, he never converted. Also, it was common practice for converts to replace their father's Christian name with a Muslim one in written documents. A common option was Abdallah (servant of God), but other Muslim names appear in documents too.[90] I believe we can safely attribute this translation to Alexander (Iskender) Amiroutzes.[91]

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87   MS Lala Ismail 261, fol. 3r.

88   MS Lala Ismail 261, fol. 3r.

89   There was another secretary of Bayezid II named Iskender. His father was a Genovese, and his mother was a Greek from Trebizond. This Iskender Bey (whose first name was Ivan, Ιβάμ μπέγης Σκεντέρ) was fluent in Greek and composed correspondence in

Greek for the sultan. His brother Andréas Milas was another associate of the sultan. However, the father was not from Trebizond, nor is the issue of Ahmed as the father resolved. For Greek documents related to Iskender Bey and more information about his background, see J. Lefort, *Documents grecs dans les archives de Topkapı Sarayı: Contribution à l'histoire de Cem Sultan* (Ankara, 1981), 15, 20, 68–70.

90   Ottoman documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially cadastral registers and endowment deeds, provide us with countless examples in this regard. Although Abdallah dominates the majority of the patronyms, the usage of other names has also been the subject of scholarly study. For example, starting with the reign of Bayezid II, it is possible to observe a tendency among the high Ottoman officials of non-Muslim origin to move away from Abdallah to other patronyms such as ʿAbd al-Karīm or ʿAbd al-Wadūd. Less frequently, names such as Mehmed appear. The case is more complicated in the lower strata of the society, where some Turkic patronyms replace Christian ones in addition to Abdallah. In the case of Trebizond, Heath Lowry also noticed that Iskender was a common patronym among Armenian converts. For the patronymic practices of the high bureaucrats of this era, see V. L. Ménage, "Seven Ottoman Documents from the Reign of Mehemmed II," in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern (Cambridge, MA, 1965), 81–118, at 112–18; for general remarks about the change of patronyms and related historiography, see H. Lowry, *The Islamization and Turkification of the City of Trabzon (Trebizond), 1461–1583* (Istanbul, 2009), 147–54. Ottoman documents refer to the male members of the Amiroutzes family as ibn feylesof, veled-i feylesof, or feylesof zāde, meaning "son of the philosopher." For more information on the fate of the members of the Amiroutzes family after the death of George Amiroutzes, see my forthcoming study.

91   According to the Göttingen Academy of Sciences' Union Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, there is a Persian version of this work in a Berlin manuscript: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Hs. or. 831.

A different type of translation, one from Arabic to Greek, was completed by Basil (Mehmed) Amiroutzes. This is the only translation into Greek made at the Ottoman court that I know of. Basil translated the Abbasid physician and translator Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's (d. 873) *al-Masāʾil fī al-ṭibb li-l-mutaʿallimīn* (Questions on medicine for students) into Greek.[92] This translation is an indicator that the transfer and translation of knowledge at the Ottoman court was a multidirectional phenomenon. The Greek translation by Basil Amiroutzes survives in three manuscripts today. One of them is in Oxford; the other two are in the Escorial Library.[93] The Oxford manuscript was copied by Manuel Korinthios (d. ca. 1530), who was active in Constantinople as megas rhetor of the patriarchal school.[94] It has the following informative title:

> Concerning terms for the natural and nonnatural things of the medical practice and about their causes, their symptoms, and their treatment by the wisest and most erudite Ishaq son of Hunayn, translated from the language of Syrians into Greek by the Lord Archon (magnate), who was called Halmet [*sic*, Mehmed] Bey, son of the philosopher Amiroutzes from Trebizond, upon the [commission] of the Lord Ruler and Great Amir [viz., Ottoman sultan].[95]

This passage clarifies that the translation was commissioned by the Ottoman ruler and that the translation was by Amiroutzes' son Basil (Mehmed). The reference to Basil's father, George Amiroutzes, is similar to the above case of the translation by Alexander Amiroutzes. Both texts refer to the translators as sons of the philosopher from Trebizond.

The two Escorial copies are earlier than the Oxford manuscript, dating to the fifteenth century. One of them was most probably completed in Constantinople in the 1460s, but I will not go into its details. We also now know that it was almost certainly Mehmed, not Bayezid, who commissioned the translation.[96] The second Escorial manuscript, Y. III. 17, provides more context for the translation. One of its watermarks, a scissor (Br. 3669), connects it to the manuscripts produced in the Ottoman court scriptorium, including the Toledo manuscript containing Basil's father's works in Greek. According to the Briquet catalogue, this type of paper was produced in Genova in 1457 and 1458.[97]

From the information in the catalogue, it seems certain that it is a variant of our translation in Lala Ismail 261. However, I have not seen the manuscript yet.

92 This translation was first brought to my attention via a presentation by Petros Bouras-Vallianatos and Elvira Wakelnig in the "2nd Arabo-Greek Workshop" held at the University of Mainz on 9–10 June 2023. I am grateful to both scholars.

93 See Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. gr. 001; El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Υ. III. 14; and Real Biblioteca, Υ. III. 17. See the detailed catalogue entries in A. Revilla and G. de Andrés Martínez, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la biblioteca de El Escorial*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1936–67), 2: 161–64, 167–69; see also H. O. Coxe, *Codices graecos et latinos Canonicianos complectens* (Oxford, 1854), 1–4.

94 For more information on him, see G. Zografidis, "Korinthios, Manuel," in *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. M. Sgarbi (Cham, 2019), 1801–4.

95 Τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Ἰσακίου υἱοῦ Χουνεηνί, ὅροι περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν τῆς ἰατρικῆς πράξεως καὶ τῶν παρὰ φύσι καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τούτων, καὶ ἀποδείξεων καὶ τῆς θεραπείας μεταγλωτισθέντων ἐκ τῆς Σύρων φωνῆς εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν παρὰ κυρίου ἄρχοντος καὶ δευτερεύον τοὔνομα [*sic*] Χαλμὲτ [Μεχμέτ] Μπὴ υἱοῦ τοῦ φιλοσόφου Ἀμοιρούτζη τοῦ ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, ὁρισμῷ τοῦ κρατοῦντος αὐθέντου

καὶ μεγάλου ἀμοιρά. See fol. 106v; cited in Coxe, *Codices graecos et latinos*, 3.

96 Y. III. 14 is a composite manuscript whose parts containing the translation by Mehmed (Basil) Amiroutzes were copied by a scribe and monk named Nikephoros/Nikolaos of Euboea in 1486. One of the manuscripts he copied in 1461 (Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, G.I. 35) was a part of the Ottoman court collection. Therefore, he was in Constantinople in 1461, the year of the arrival of the Amiroutzes family, and he became a monk in 1463. He also witnessed the fall of Euripos in 1471 in central Greece before finally moving to the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos. Therefore, he must have had access to this translation from the Ottoman court between 1461 and 1471. This opening allows us to argue that the Ottoman sultan who commissioned the translation was Mehmed II, not Bayezid II. For more information on the copyist, see S. P. Lambros, *Ἀθηναῖοι Βιβλιογράφοι Καὶ Κτήτορες Κωδίκων: Κατά Τους Μέσους Αἰώνας Καὶ Ἐπί Τουρκοκρατίας* (Athens, 1902), 23–25; cf. M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Hildesheim, 1966), 339, 352. For a description of the manuscript in question, see Revilla and de Andrés Martínez, *Catálogo de Los Códices Griegos*, 2:161–64.

97 See https://briquet-online.at/3669. The Ottoman court scriptorium used this paper and its siblings quite often. Another watermark in the shape of a balance (Br. 2501) is in dialogue with the scriptorium manuscripts such as Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, G.I. 10. See https://briquet-online.at/loadRepWmark.php?refnr=2501. Yet a closer connection between G.I. 10 could be made with one of the watermarks of the Escorial manuscripts, Y. III. 14 (Br. 2464). See https://briquet-online.at/loadRepWmark.php?refnr=2464. Also see the examples from G.I. 10 and G.I. 53 in Raby, "Greek Scriptorium," pl. 21.

This second manuscript begins with an alphabetical list of Turkish plant names translated into Greek. It is followed by another Turkish-Latin-Greek list of the same nature. At the end of the manuscript is a far longer list of Turkish plant names and pharmaceuticals in the Greek script.[98] This time we have pharmaceutical and medical material coming from Turkish (and Arabic and Persian) sources prepared for the use of Greek speakers. Contrarily, all languages are written in the Greek script.

The education of court officials in the Greek language should be set against this translation activity as well. Most likely, the original translation plan was much more extensive, including more material from antiquity. However, what has survived is enough to demonstrate three major convergences between these translations and the language primers. First, both seem to have been prepared in and around the circle of Amiroutzes. Second, their orthographic similarities, style of rendering Greek in Arabic script, and even interlinear study notes support a conclusion of shared authorship. Third, both deal with thematically similar classical matters.

Even in the more "conventional" translations from Arabic to Persian or vice versa, the concentration on antiquity is prevalent. In the preface of a book of logic translated from Persian into Arabic, the anonymous translator adds that Mehmed considered Persian better suited to dialogues and poetry, while Arabic, with its precision and greater clarity, was superior for scholarly endeavors. He also touches upon Mehmed's appreciation of "ancient [Greek] knowledge" and philosophy and his interest in books in these fields.[99] After extended praise, the translator notes:

> He [Mehmed II] devoted the utmost care to rebuilding the lighthouse of ancient knowledge. He resurrected works of perfection and virtue. He [re-]elevated what had been erased from their remains. He renovated what had been forgotten from their ruins. He returned them to their original state. Moreover, he increased them and placed them on their ideal path.

When his exalted gaze fell upon the aforementioned book, he explained his illuminating view that this was one of the superb books, but its language had shortcomings. It came to his great mind to make it perfect with virtuous expressions. He designated this feeble slave to do the necessary. He ordered me to translate [the book] into Arabic.[100]

While declaring the position of Arabic as the language of science and scholarship, this preface's emphasis on ancient knowledge, its resurrection, and renovation is striking. Also, the specific terminology used in the preface, such as "true sciences" or "exact learning," resembles the language of the treatises in MS Topkapı, whose author also emphasizes the desire to learn ancient Greek philosophy.

Conclusion

After this overview, one may conclude that there were at least three significant aims behind the teaching of Greek at the Ottoman court in this era: training secretaries and scribes for the chancellery, training interpreters to be fluent in spoken Greek, and, finally, studying ancient Greek knowledge. The first two aims have already been discussed by previous scholars, but the Ottoman interest in ancient Greek (and Roman) things, especially in philosophy and science, has often been ignored.

The material examined here urges us to take such an interest seriously. We have seen that the Ottoman court library owned original Greek manuscripts and, more strikingly, a Greek scriptorium was sponsored that employed several significant personalities of the late Byzantine period. When we talk about the Greek scriptorium, we must not necessarily picture a single physical space and copyists working there in a bureaucratic structure. However, especially through George Amiroutzes and his network, the Ottoman court seems to have commissioned the copying of many manuscripts, and in some instances we can imagine the existence of an

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98   Revilla and Andrés Martínez, *Catálogo*, 2:167–69. For a general introduction to Greek medical lexica from this period, see A Touwaide, "Lexica medico-botanica byzantina: Prolégomènes à une étude," in *Τῆς φιλίης τάδε δῶρα: Miscelánea léxica en memoria de Conchita Serrano* (Madrid, 1999), 211–28.

99   This unpublished preface was first noticed and summarized in Necipoğlu, "Spatial Organization," 55.

100   فصرف عنايته العلية الي رفع منار علوم الأوائل ونشر آثار الكمالات والفضائل واعلا ما انطمس من معالها واحياء ما اندرس من مراسمها واعادتها الي سيرتها الاولي بل ازيد وجعلها علي طريقتها المثلي بل اجود فلما وقع نظره العالي علي الكتاب المذكور ووضح لراية المنير انّه من نفائس الكتب لكن من جهت العبارة فيه قصور جال في خاطره الخطير ان يكمل ما فاته من فضيلة العبارة فانفذ الإشارة الواجبة الاتباع الي العبد النحيف آمرا ان اترجمه بالعربية; Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, A 3432, fol. 2v.

actual physical space since the codicological features of many Greek manuscripts—the use of the same or similar type of papers, identical or similar bindings, and similar handwritings—imply the presence of at least an atelier-type setting.[101]

The content of those Greek manuscripts, as well as the content of the Greek-language primers prepared for the Ottoman court, suggests a strong interest in ancient Greek knowledge. Even in those primers where the introductory grammar is more aimed toward spoken Greek, there are reading pieces and treatises with terminology directly related to philosophy and philosophical education, as well as tractates prepared by Amiroutzes in Greek to teach the basics of philosophy.

In tandem with such teaching activity, the Ottoman court of the fifteenth century (especially during the reign of Mehmed II) commissioned several translations, primarily from Greek into Arabic. Some of these survive today, and other titles whose existence we know of are yet to be discovered.

However, all these activities force us to reconsider Ottoman patronage in relation to the courts of Quattrocento Italy and the late Byzantine imperial courts in Constantinople and Mystra. For example, in a comparison of the patronage of the Medici with Mehmed II, one notices that both patrons sponsored Greek learning and translations from Greek, supported Byzantine intellectuals, collected Greek manuscripts, and so on.[102] Moreover, as is well-known, Mehmed II's Ottoman court was not indifferent to Italian painting and medals.[103]

On the other hand, there are limits to this comparison. The Ottoman interest and patronage were on a much smaller scale than in Renaissance Italy. Even if we can see some discussion about restoring ancient

knowledge (via many languages), it appears to be limited to the court. Also, the Ottoman interest in Greek learning and antiquity should not be taken as a scientific interest per se. Just like many Italian counterparts of the day, it was rather an antiquarian-like fascination with ancient matters. Since this phenomenon was limited mainly to the court, among other things this form of antiquarianism is decorative and cosmetic to a considerable degree, just like the different forms of it one could observe in Italy. Moreover, it was also political. Within this general antiquarian aura, individual texts and translations seem to have been prepared on account of certain problems at the court as well.[104]

From a more general perspective, the entire project was set up to support Mehmed's universalist propaganda, in various languages and books connecting the East and the West, in order to fashion Mehmed as a rightful sole emperor in the Roman sense and a philosopher-king, possessor of universal knowledge. Antiquarianism itself was, to a considerable degree, at the service of political needs. This does not necessarily mean that the Ottoman court was only interested in the ancient aspects of Greek culture; antiquity was only a part of its interests. Contrarily, both the Italian and Ottoman examples demonstrate that they saw Greek literary culture as a living phenomenon (with its roots in antiquity) that was quite instrumental in their political agendas in the hands of Palaiologan intellectuals, whom both parties employed.[105]

In this Ottoman courtly atmosphere, there is little continuity beyond the fifteenth century. Especially toward the end of the century, the interest in all these subjects began to disappear. Bayezid II certainly had secretaries and diplomats knowledgeable in Greek, but his patronage of scholarly activities concerning Greek was much more limited than that of his father,

101   This is especially manifest in the manuscripts studied by Raby. Also, as Raby has noted, Constantinople had other workshops producing Greek manuscripts with some "Ottomanizing" methods in Mehmed II's era; Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," 22, n. 38.

102   For the details of the friendly relationship between the Ottoman court and the Medici as well as the similar endeavors of patronage by both parties, see E. Jacobs, "Büchergeschenke für Sultan Mehemmed II," in *Festschrift Georg Leyh: Aufsätze zum Bibliothekswesen und zur Forschungsgeschichte dargebracht zum 60. Geburtstage am 6. Juni 1937* (Leipzig, 1937), 20–26; F. Babinger, "Lorenzo de' Medici e la Corte ottomana," *AStIt* 121.3 (1963): 305–61.

103   Raby, "Pride and Prejudice"; Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism."

104   For the function of certain Greek texts and translations against the context of the political problems of the day and theurgic usages, see Maria Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek," 204.

105   Furthermore, as Mavroudi demonstrates, contemporary philosophical and scientific currents in Byzantium were seen as part of their own semiosphere by Ottoman court officials in the fifteenth century. They did not see Byzantium as a frozen foreign culture whose precious wisdom was embedded in dead manuscripts. On the other hand, the beginnings of this living culture in antiquity were also important to the Ottoman court. Therefore, I do not see the engagement with Greek culture as a living phenomenon and having an interest in its antiquity as mutually exclusive in this context. See Mavroudi, "Plethon as a Subversive," esp. 201–3.

Mehmed II (when I use these two names, I mean their entire courtly entourage, not only single individuals). As far as I know, Bayezid II also showed no interest in his father's collection of antiquities and relics.[106] The same applies to Greek manuscripts.

Nevertheless, we have specimens of and witnesses to a remarkable intellectual activity combining the interests in ancient Greek literature and scholarship,

Greek instruction, and translations at the Ottoman court. Knowing that this activity would eventually fade away should not prevent us from contextualizing it in its proper context in the fifteenth-century Mediterranean world, where the popularity of Greek texts and intellectuals took hold in various places, not only in the West.

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106   In 1489 Bayezid II even offered the relics to the king of France to please him and to ensure that he kept Cem Sultan in France. For an Italian inventory of the relics, see Franz Babinger, *Reliquienschacher am Osmanenhof im XV. Jahrhundert: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der osmanischen Goldprägung unter Mehmed II., dem Eroberer* (Munich, 1956).

Appendix

The Arabic Text and English Translation of MS Berlin's Preface[107]

ARABIC TEXT

كتاب الملحقات بدانستن

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي أنطق ألسنة الأنام بتسبيحه وتحميده، وأطبق أفئدة أهل الإسلام بنور تقديسه وتفريده. ووفّقهم بنعمته لرغبة في أسباب الاطّلاع على آيات توحيده لينظروا في اختلاف الآثار ويستدِلّوا بها على أحدية المُؤَثّر ويشتغلوا في تمجيده. أحمَدُهُ على ما وهب من النعماء وأشكره على ما دفع من البلاء وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له <3ر> شهادة مذنب مُقِرّ بالذنوب منتظر رحمة ربّه ليلقّيَني بها دار البقاء وأشهد أنّ محمّدًا عبده وحبيبه من بين الأصفياء وأشرف من أوحي إليه من الرسل والأنبياء صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وأصحابه المخصوصين بالظفر في اللواء وسلّم تسليمًا كثيرًا إلى يوم الحشر والجزاء.

أما بعد، فإنّ التتبع في اللغة والعبارات والغياصة في الألفاظ والاصطلاحات ممّا يقف بها الإنسان على العلم <3و> بالأشياء الموجودة الشهادية وممّا تطّلع بها النفس الناطقة على النظر في الأمور المحمودة الغيبية. فإذا حُصّلت هذه المرتبة لأحد ظهرت له نفسه فوائد متكاثرة واذُخرت له في طلب كماله أسباب وافرة إذ بها ينكشف علامات باهرة لحكمة المُبدع الحكيم كما قال تعالى في الكتاب الكريم: (إِنَّ فِي ٱخْتِلَٰفِ ٱلَّيْلِ وَٱلنَّهَارِ وَمَا خَلَقَ ٱللَّهُ فِي ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَٱلْأَرْضِ لَءَايَٰتٍ لِّقَوْمٍ يَتَّقُونَ) <4ر> فلا شكّ أنّ معرفة الكائنات في السماء والأرض بأسمائها هي علّة باعثة على العلم بالموجودات من حيث وجودها فإنّ المستفاد من أسماء الأشياء وما يتصوّر منها هي مبادٍ أوّلٌ للحكمة وبها رسومها وحدودها فلمّا كانت هذه الفوائد نابعة من ضبط لغة واحدة فما الظنّ بتفطّن لغات مختلفة متعدّدة بها تظهر معان حصلت في أذهان الأوائل وأسرار انكشفت لأصحاب الفضائل <4و> وهي مع كونها كثيرة الإفادات آية زاهرة لوحدة الصانع القديم كما قال تعالى في القرآن العظيم: (وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ خَلْقُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَاخْتِلَافُ أَلْسِنَتِكُمْ وَأَلْوَانِكُمْ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِلْعَالِمِينَ).

فلمّا انجلى سرّ هذه الفوائد وتلألأ بها هذه الفوائد عند مظهر للحقائق المُلكِيَّة والملكوتية مَجمَع للأنوار الفيضية من النعم الجبروتية وهو الأجلّ الجبّار الذي خضعت لجلال عظمته أعناق <5ر> القياصرة والأكبر القهّار الذي خشعت لعزّة سلطنته نفوس الأكاسرة الباسط بالجود كلّ عدل وإحسان الضابط للمُلك بجلّ أمن وأمان سلطان البرّين الأعظم خاقان البحرين المعظّم السلطان ابن السلطان سلطان محمّد خان ابن السلطان مراد خان أيّده الله بملائكة قدسه وسخّر له الخلق من جنّه وإنسه وخلّد ملكه وسلطانه كما نشر في الآفاق برّه وإحسانه – أمر بجمع لغات غير عربية وبيانها <5و> ورسم بنقل عبارات من دونها. واتمرتُ بالأمر العليّ الشأن خلّده الله في علوّ شأنه. وارتسمت بالرسم الجليّ الإذعان أبد في سموّ قدره مؤيّدا وأحضِرَ بهممه كتب الفرق المختلفة في لسانها وهي بعناياته صُحُفُ العبارات المتفرقة في بيانها فهذه نسخة يدخل بواسطتها

الطالب صحراء ذات بهجة من ألفاظ غامضة أصول ويخوض بوسيلتها الراغب روضة ذات حضرة من عبارات واضحة فصول وسمّيتها <6ر> بملحقات دانستن من اللغة الرومية والسرفية. وهذا الكتاب قد رُتّبَ في الأصل على ثلاثة أبواب: باب في المصادر وباب في المشتقّات منها وباب في الأسماء. وأنا ضممت في صدره مقدمة في معرفة ما يتوقّف عليه تلفّظ العبارات المترادفة للعبارات الواردة في الكتاب. فلمّا كان ما ترادف للأصل في كل شيئ يرد فيه ألفاظًا من لغتين مختلفتين بيّنتُ المقدّمة في إشارتين: <6و> الإشارة الأولى إلى بيان حروف الروم وما يتعلّق بتلفّظ عباراتهم. الإشارة الثانية إلى بيان حروف السرف وما يتعلّق بتلفّظ عباراتهم. والله أستعين في تتميم كلّ مقصود، إنّه هو المعبود وإنّه لأهل العبادة هو العضود.

المقدّمة في معرفة ما يتوقّف عليه الملحقات بهذا الكتاب وهي مبنية في إشارتين.

الإشارة الأولى في بيان حروف الروم وما يتعلّق بتلفّظ عباراتهم لا يخفى أنّ الحروف التي <7ر> تُكتَبُ بها في هذا العصر لغة الروم أكثر من الحروف التي تُكتَبُ بها اللغة القديمة التي هي لغة اليونان. فإنّ الروم بعدما تركوا أرضهم القديمة التي هي في هذا الزمان تحت حكم الفرنج وسكنوا أرض اليونان مع قيصرهم المشهور بقسطنطين اختلطوا بهم اختلاطا لا يتميّز فيه أحدهم هل هو روميّ أو فرنجيّ. ولذلك استعملوا لسان اليونان وتكلّموا بلغتهم إلا أنّهم <7و> ألحقوا بها ألفاظا غير ألفاظهم الأصلية. ولهذا تزيد الحروف التي تكتب بها لغة عوامّ الروم على الحروف التي تكتب بها لغة خواصّهم وهي لغة اليونان القديمة.

أما الحروف التي عليها مدار تلفّظ اللغة القديمة المستعملة عند خواصّ الروم فهي عشرون حرفًا بسيطًا بحسب تعبيرهم لا بحسب كتابها. وهي هذه ألِفٌ ووَاوٌ وغَينٌ وياءٌ وذالٌ <8ر> وزاءٌ وثاءٌ وقافٌ وكافٌ وگافٌ معجمة ولامٌ وميمٌ ونونٌ وياءٌ معجمة بثلاث نقط وراءٌ وسينٌ وتاءٌ وفاءٌ وخاءٌ معجمة بنقطة واحدة وخاءٌ معجمة بثلاث نقط وهي حرف يختصّ بلسانهم مخرجها في غاية الخفّة قريب من مخرج الشين المعجمة.

ولهم حروف أخر مركّبة مخصوصة بخطّهم ولسانهم ولا حاجة لنا إلى ذكرها في هذا المختصر لأنّها في التلفّظ مركّبة من الحروف المذكورة ويزيد على <8و> جملتها حرف آخر ليندرج في دائرة في دائرة الحروف لغة عوامّ الروم وهو جيم معجمة بنقطتين متواليتين عرضا. مخرجها بين مخرج الجيم المستعملة في لغة العرب ومخرج الجيم المستعملة في لغة العجم مع خفّة ما وضرب اللسان في أطراف الأسنان.

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107   I omitted the last two and a half folios of the preface concerning the Serbian language here. I also maintained the manuscript's black and red color code.

إذا عرفت هذا فلا يخفى أنّ تكلّم الروم واليونان أيضا يفتقر إلى خمس حركات. الحركة الأولى إشباع. مثاله حركة الواو في لفظة وَاسِلفِس بمعنى <9ر> المَلِك. الحركة الثانية فتح. مثاله حركته الواو في لفظة وُلُواس بمعنى السهم. الحركة الثالثة كسرٌ. مثاله حركة الواو في لفظة ويمَا بمعنى الكُرسيّ. الحركة الرابعة ضمّ. مثاله حركة الواو في لفظة وُولي بمعنى المشورة. الحركة الخامسة حركة مثل حركة الخاء في لفظة خُوارزم. مثاله حركة الواو في لفظة وُوائثُواس بمعنى المُعين

فإذا رأيت في العبارة الرومية <9و> ألفًا بعد واو ساكنة وهي واو ليّنة مضمومة ما قبلها فاعلم أنّ حركة ما قبلهما هي مثل حركة خاء خوارزم فلا بدّ من سعي في تقليدها إيّاها لئلّا يحصل التباس بين الألفاظ بإهمال التحقيق. وهذه الحركات المذكورة كلّها تقبل المدّ والقصر في تكلّمهم وعلاماتها ظاهرة بألف المدّ وياء الليّنة وواوها وبألف الإمالة المعروفة. إذا أريد مدّ للفتح لمشابهة بينهما وعلامتها <10ر> نصف دويرة مكبوبة مكتوبة فوق ألف المدّ

وفي تكلّمهم عادة أخرى واجبة الذكر والتنبيه وهي أنّ الروم وسائر الفرق الغير الاسلامية أيضا يوردون في عباراتهم حرفين صحيحين فصاعدًا غير متحرّكتين ولا مسبوقتين بهمزة ليسكن أحدهما وهو أوّل الحرفين بعد حركة الهمزة. وعلى هذا يكسرون

مخرج الحرف الأوّل بتركيب مخرج الحرف الثاني. <10و> مثال هذا لفظة پرواتواس بمعنى الأوّل وذلك أنّ الياء والراء ليستا بمتحرّكتين بحركتين وليست قبل الياء همزة متحرّكة بحركة ما. والياء ساكنة بعدها بل هما متحرّكتان بحركة واحدة هي مثل حركة خاء خوارزم على ما ذُكِرَ. ولذلك وضعتُ علامة الجزم خلاف عادتنا في كتابتنا ألفاظنا <11ر> وذلك الخلاف وقوع علامة الجزم قبل حركة الحرفين المتحركتين بها. فهذا ظاهر إذا وقعت الحركة فوق الحرف كالفتح والضمّ مثلا. وأمّا إذا وقعت الحركة تحت الحرف كالكسر مثلا فليس بظاهر إلا أنّ إخراج علامة الجزم عن موقعها الأصليّ وهو موضع وقوعها بإزاء الحرف الثاني الذي هو الساكن وإيقاعها بإزاء الحرف الأوّل لأنّ الحرف الأوّل <11و> بمنزلة الساكن قرينة كافية في هذا الأمر فإذا رأيت الجزم على هذا الطور ينبغي أن لا يتلفّظ بذلك اللفظ كما يتلفّظ به عامّة أصحابنا وذلك تحريكهم الحرف الأوّل بالكسر أو إيرادهم قبله همزة مكسورة لأنّه غلط فاحش وسقامة في التلفّظ بيّنة ولذلك وجب التبرّء منه

فإنّ الغرض من تدوين هذا الكتاب الوقوف على معرفة صحيح عباراتهم <12ر> والتكلّم بها بفصاحة.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Praise be to God, who made people's tongues speak his glorification and praise and who filled the hearts of the people of Islam with the light of his sanctification and uniqueness. He enabled them, by his grace, to desire the means of informing themselves of the signs of his oneness[108] in order to observe the various effects and use them as evidence of the oneness of the Influencer, and to be engaged with glorifying him. I praise him for the blessings he has bestowed, and I thank him for repelling [us] from affliction. I bear witness that there is no god but God alone, with no partner. [3r] [This is] the testimony of a sinner who confesses his sins, awaiting the mercy of his Lord to meet me with it [mercy] in the abode of eternity. And I bear witness that Muhammad is his servant, his messenger, and his beloved, among the pure and the most honorable of those who received revelation, the messengers and prophets, may God's blessing and peace be upon him and his family and companions who are destined for the banner of victory, and may he grant abundant peace until the day of resurrection and judgment.

To proceed, pursuing language and expressions and being immersed in phrases and terminology are what enables humankind to gain knowledge [3v] of the things existent in the observable [world] and what enables the rational soul to observe the praiseworthy matters in the unseen [world]. If this rank is achieved for someone, numerous benefits will appear for him, and abundant reasons will be provided for him to seek its perfection. Through it, dazzling signs of the wisdom of the Wise Creator are revealed, as God Almighty said in the noble book: "Indeed, in the alternation of night and day, and in what God has created in the heavens and the earth, there are signs for the people fearing God."[109] [4r] No doubt, knowing the things in the heavens and the earth by their names is the reason that motivates knowledge of existing things in terms of their being, for what is learned from the names of things and what is imagined from them are the first principles of philosophy (ḥikma) with their composition and limits.

Since these benefits [could] stem from the mastery of a single language, what should we think of the

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108   The text says *āyāt tawḥīd*, which can be translated both as "signs of oneness" and "verses of monotheism." Both meanings are intended.

109   Quran 10:6. Unless otherwise indicated, all quranic translations are mine.

invention of multiple different languages in which meanings that occurred in the minds of the ancients and the secrets that were exposed to those virtuous ones are revealed? [4v] Although they are of many benefits, they are [all] a shining sign of the unity of the pre-eternal Craftsman, as God Almighty said in the Glorious Quran: "And one of his signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the differences of your languages and colors. Indeed, in this are signs for the knowledgeable ones."[110]

When the secret of these benefits became clear, and these gems shone with them at the focal point of the realities of the observable world (*mulk*) and the world of abstracts (*malakūt*), an assembly of overflowing lights of the blessings of the world of power (*jabarūt*) to him. He is the most splendorous, the might to whose splendor the necks of the Caesars[111] [5r] submitted, and the greatest conqueror, before whose might the souls of the Persian emperors humbled themselves. [He is the one] who extended all justice and benevolence to the realm with great security and confidence. The great Sultan of the two seas, the puissant Khagan of two lands, the Sultan, the son of the Sultan, Sultan Mehmed Khan, the son of Sultan Murad Khan, may God support him with his holy angels, and make the demons and humans he had created subject to him, and prolong his kingdom and authority, as he spread his righteousness and benevolence to the horizons. He ordered the collection of non-Arabic[-script] languages and their rhetoric [or grammars] [5v], and he commissioned the translation of expressions from them. So I realized his exalted order—may God eternalize his glory forever. And I clearly traced this image with obedience. [May he be] eternally exalted in his loftiness. He has collected books in various languages and has [ordered] the preparation of documents to explain confusing phrases in those languages with his grace. With the help of this copy, the student may, on his own, joyfully enter a desert of words of ambiguous origins. The one who wishes [to learn a language] may on his own step in a garden of precise phrases and chapters with the agency of this [book]. And I have named it the [6r] *Book of Appendices of the* Dānistan *in the Languages of Greek and Serbian*.[112]

This book is originally arranged into three sections: a section on infinitives, a section on conjugation and derivation from them, and a section on nouns. At its beginning I have included an introduction providing information about the pronunciation of phrases that are [provided] as the equivalents of the phrases included in the book.[113] Since the equivalents of all words contained in the original [are given] in two different languages, I have explained the introduction in two headings: [6v] The first heading is an explanation of the letters of Greek and what is related to the pronunciation of their phrases. The second heading is an explanation of the letters of Serbian and what is related to the pronunciation of their phrases. By God, I seek help in completing every goal. He is the one who is worshiped, and for the people of worship, he is the supporter.

The Introduction: Explanations about the appendices in this book, clarified in two subchapters.

The first heading: The explanation of the Greek letters and their pronunciation.

It is obvious that the letters [and accents?] that are written as such in the present age in the Greek (*rūm*) language are more numerous than the letters that were written in the ancient language, the language of ancient Greeks (*yūnān*). After the Romans left their ancient homeland, which is the land of Europeans [or Latins] (Ar. *firanj*) at the present time, and after settling down in the country of the Greeks, [starting] with their emperor called Constantine, they mixed with locals. It was difficult to differentiate them from one another; [it was difficult to determine] who was Greek, who was Roman, and so on. They used the ancient Greek language, and they spoke in their tongue, except that [7v] they added words to it other than their original words. This is why the letters in which the language of the common people of the Romans [viz., Byzantines] is written are more numerous than the letters in which the language of their elite is written, which is the language of ancient Greece.

As for the letters that convey the pronunciation of the ancient language used by the Byzantine elite, they are twenty simple letters according to their expression,

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110 Quran 30:22.

111 Referring to the Byzantine emperors.

112 The author of the preface refers to Greek as the language of the Romans throughout the text unless otherwise indicated. However, I translate it as Greek for the sake of simplicity.

113 The author tries to say that he provided equivalents of the terms listed in the original Persian grammar.

not according to their writing.[114] These are *alif* (α, ε), *wāw* (β), *ghayn*, *yāʾ* (γ), *dhāl* (δ) [8r], *zāʾ* (ζ), *thāʾ* (θ), *qāf*, *kāf*, dotted *kāf* (κ), *lām* (λ), *mīm* (μ), *nūn* (ν), [the sound *p*, which is] *bāʾ* marked with three dots (π), *rāʾ* (ρ), *sīn* (σ), *tāʾ* (τ), *fāʿ* (φ), *khāʾ* marked with one dot, and *khāʾ* marked with three dots (χ), which is a letter specific to their language. Its pronunciation is very light, close to the pronunciation of the *shīn*.[115]

They have other compound letters that are specific to their writing and tongue, and we do not need to mention them in this summary because in pronunciation they are composed of the letters mentioned above. And another letter is added [8v] to them to be included in a circle in the circle of letters in the language of the common people of the Romans, and it is a *jīm* with two consecutive dots across. Its pronunciation is in between the pronunciation of the *jīm* used in the Arabic language and the pronunciation of the *jīm* used in the Persian language, with some lightness and hitting the tongue against the edges of the teeth.

When you know this, it is no secret that the speech of the Romans and Greeks also necessitates five vowel marks (*ḥarakāt*) [in the Arabic script]. The first vowel mark is the long vowel. An example is the vowel mark of the *wāw* in the word *wasilafs* (βασιλεύς), meaning [9r] king. The second one is *fatḥa* [a short *a*]. An example is the vowel mark of the *wāw* in the word *walos* (βέλος), meaning arrow. The third is a *kasra* [a short *i*]. An example is the vowel mark of the *wāw* in the word *wima* (βῆμα), meaning platform. The fourth one is *dhamma* [a short *u*]. An example is the *wāw* vowel in the word

wuli (βουλή), meaning counsel. The fifth vowel mark is an accent like the *khāʾ* vowel in the word Khwarazm. An example is the vowel mark of the *wāw* in the word *woʾithos* (βοηθόος), meaning helper.[116]

When, in a Greek word, you see [9v] an *alif* after a *wāw*, that is silent. It is a soft *wāw*, joined by what comes before it; know that the vowel mark of what comes before them is like the vowel mark of the *khāʾ* of Khwarazm. So, it is necessary to strive to imitate it so that there is no confusion between the words because of the neglect of verification. All of these aforementioned vowel marks can be lengthened and shortened in speech, and their signs are demonstrated with *alif* with *madda*, the soft *yāʾ*, *wāw*, and the well-known *alif* with inclination (*imāla*). If a *madda* is intended for the *fatḥa* (viz., long ε sound) due to a similarity between them, its sign [10r] is a retracted half circle written above the *alif*.[117]

In their speech is another convention that must be mentioned and pointed out, which is that the Romans and other non-Islamic groups also include in their expressions two consonants successively, without a vowel mark [in between] and not preceded by a *hamza*. One of them is silent, which is the first of the two letters after the *hamza* mark. Accordingly, they break the pronunciation of the first letter by constructing the pronunciation of the second letter. [10v] An example of this is the word *protos* (πρῶτος), meaning "the first." Because the *pe* and *rāʾ* are not vocalized with two vowels, and there is no *hamza* before the *pe* that is marked with any vowel, the *pe* is silent. However, they are vowelized with one vowel mark together, which is like the mark of the *khāʾ* of Khwarazm, as mentioned. Therefore, I placed the *jazm* sign [denoting the absence of a short vowel] contrary to our convention in writing our phrases [11r], and the difference is that the *jazm* sign occurs before the mark of the two letters intended. This is added if the vowel mark is above the letter, such as *fatḥa* and *dhamma*. However, if the mark is under the letter, such as the *kasra*, then it is only shown when the *jazm* mark is removed from its original position. This is the position of its occurrence in relation to the second

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114   What the author means is that the following explanation concerns the sounds in the Greek language that he utilized in transcribing them in the Arabic script, not the letters of the Greek alphabet. Sometimes, one Greek letter can be transcribed with two different Arabic letters, such as γ with both *ghayn* and *yāʾ*. On the other hand, sometimes the transcription uses one Arabic letter for more than one Greek letter, such as *alif* for both α and ε. In the case of vowels, things are more complicated since Arabic vowel marks are needed. However, the transcription does not differentiate between ι and η or ο and ω, let alone the combination of the letters giving the same sounds. Therefore, the author concludes that twenty Arabic letters are enough for transcribing twenty-four Greek letters. More explanation on the transcription of vowels is provided below.

115   It is clear that *chi* was indeed pronounced very close to the *sh* sound in certain cases, so much so that in the biblical translation discussed above, the term beginning *arkhe* (ἀρχή), is transcribed as *arshī* in the Arabic script; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Lala Ismail 261, fol. 3r.

116   Thus, the author of the preface has listed five vowel sounds: *a* (as in father), *e* (as in end), *i* (as in it), *u* (as in put), and *o* (as in off). It can be deduced from this portion that the term Khwarazm is pronounced as Khorazm. Therefore, the last vowel must be a clear *o* sound.

117   The sign described here is an inverted breve on top of an *alif* as *î*.

letter, which is silent, and its occurrence in relation to the first letter, because the first letter [11v] in the position of the silent is sufficient evidence in this matter.

If you see the *jazm* sign in this manner, then you should not pronounce that word as most of our companions pronounce it, which is the vocalization of the first letter with a *kasra* or placing a *kasra hamza* before it. This is clearly a gross error and sloppiness in pronunciation. Therefore, it is necessary to avoid it.

The purpose of writing this book is to acquire the correct knowledge of their phrases [12r] and to speak it eloquently.